

## The British regime in Wisconsin.

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### The British Regime in Wisconsin

#### 1760–61: THE BRITISH TAKE POSSESSION

[Upon the capitulation of Montreal,<sup>88</sup> General Amherst ordered Major Robert Rogers<sup>89</sup> to proceed with two companies of rangers to Niagara and Presqu'isle. There securing reinforcements

<sup>88</sup> Original documents from which the following is abridged, are: *Journals of Rogers*, pp. 175–202; Croghan's "Journal of 1760–61," in *Early Western Travels*, i. pp. 100–125; "Bouquet Papers," in *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xix, pp. 23–50.— Ed.

<sup>89</sup> Maj. Robert Rogers was born in New Hampshire, of Irish parentage in 1727. In 1755 he joined the colonial forces and raised a body of troops known as "Rogers's Rangers," who were of great service to the British by their scouting and ranging operations, chiefly upon the Lake Champlain frontier. Jan. 21, 1757, Rogers was defeated near Lake George by a detachment of French and Indians under command of Charles Langlade, and the English commander was badly wounded. Rogers recovered in time, however, to take part in the Fort William Henry campaign of the same year. By the terms of surrender, the rangers were disbanded for a year. A new body was enlisted, however, and served with Howe and Abercrombie in 1758. In the following year Rogers was with Amherst, and early in 1760 performed a daring exploit, by passing the French lines, destroying the mission village of Abenaki Indians at St. Francis, and returning amid great difficulties and hardships through the wilderness to the Connecticut River settlements. After this expedition to Detroit in the winter of 1760–61, Rogers remained in the service, and was sent to the Cherokee War in

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1761. During Pontiac's conspiracy he was of the relief party, and shortly afterwards retired on half-pay and visited England. There he published his *Journals*, and *A Concise Account of North America*. In 1766, he was appointed commandant at Mackinac (see post), and while there was accused of a treasonable plot to betray that post. Tried by court-martial at Montreal, he secured an acquittal, when he visited England a second time, only to be imprisoned for debt. On the outbreak of the Revolution he negotiated with both Americans and English, finally raising a band of Loyalists known as the "Queen's Rangers." These were surprised and badly cut up near Long Island in 1776. By act of the New Hampshire legislature, Rogers was in 1778 banished as a Loyalist. About this time he fled to England, where after living a wild and dissolute life he died about 1800.— Ed.

224 and provisions from Gen. Robert Monckton,<sup>90</sup> in charge of the Western department with headquarters at Fort Pitt, Rogers was to advance to Detroit and the other Western posts, and take them over from their French commandants for the British authority. Rogers left Montreal Sept. 13. Meanwhile Col. Henry Bouquet,<sup>91</sup> upon orders from Monckton, had 90 Brig.-Gen. Robert Monckton, son of an Irish peer, began his military services in 1742 in Flanders. Coming to America in 1750, he was stationed at Halifax, and acted as governor for Nova Scotia from 1754–56. In 1757 he was transferred to the Royal American regiment, and was second in command at the siege of Quebec. The succeeding year he took charge of the Western department, and from 1761–63, with the rank of major-general, was military governor of New York city, during which time he served on the West Indies campaign and captured Martinique. Returning to England, he entered parliament, but refused to serve against the Americans in the Revolution. He died in 1782.— Ed.

91 Col. Henry Bouquet, born in 1719, was a Swiss soldier of fortune. After serving with distinction in the armies of Sardinia and Holland, he entered (1756) the regiment of Royal Americans with the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and came to America. For two years he was stationed in South Carolina, in 1758 being summoned to aid Gen. John Forbes in the latter's march against Fort Pitt. There Bouquet was left in command until the arrival of Monckton in 1760, when he occupied Presqu'isle, afterwards commanding at Fort Pitt

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until late in 1762. On the news of its siege in 1763. Bouquet undertook a relief expedition, and after a severe battle at Bushy Run spent the winter (1763–64) organizing a punitive expedition into the Indian territory. This was completely successful; after penetrating to the Delaware towns, securing the prisoners, and making a treaty of peace, Bouquet was relieved from his Western service. He was promoted to a brigadiership and sent to Florida (1764), where he died early in 1766.— Ed.

HENRY BOUQUET From steel engraving in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* , iii, p. 121

225 advanced from Fort Pitt and taken possession of Presqu'isle on July 17, 1760. He found no garrison at this place, and the fort burned, whereupon he rebuilt the fort, which was finished about Oct. 1. Maj. Robert Stewart of the Virginia forces<sup>92</sup> had taken possession at Venango and rebuilt its blockhouse. Rogers reached Presqu'isle Oct. 8, and after a hurried trip to Fort Pitt left for the West Nov. 4, with a company of Royal Americans commanded by Capt. Donald Campbell, together with Capt. George Croghan<sup>93</sup> of the Indian department and a band of friendly Indians, in addition to the rangers. They passed in boats along the south shore of Lake Erie, meeting several parties of Indians with whom they stopped to parley. From Sandusky Rogers despatched Lieut. Dietrich Brehm to the French officer at Detroit, accompanied by Médard Gamelin, a French habitant captured at Niagara, who had taken the British oath of allegiance.<sup>94</sup> After some parleying and exchange

<sup>92</sup> Robert Stewart was captain of the Virginia regiment, and for gallant conduct at Braddock's defeat (1755) was granted a gratuity and the thanks of the assembly. In 1758 he was made major of his regiment, and the next year was second in command. Desiring to enter the regular army, he secured a commission in the Royal Americans, and rebuilt Fort Venango (1760). The following year he was on the Cherokee campaign. At the close of the war, he went to London to better his fortunes, and in 1768 secured the appointment of comptroller of customs at Jamaica. His health failed, and after two years he was again in London. The last mention of him we have found, is the fact of his being in London in

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1774. He was an especial friend of Washington, and corresponded with him at length. See Hamilton, *Letters to Washington*, index.— Ed.

93 For Croghan see *ante*, p. 58, note 96. Capt. Donald Campbell was a Scotch officer who came to America in 1756 with the 62nd infantry. He secured a captaincy in the Royal Americans in 1759, and was ordered to the Western frontier with Monckton. He remained in command at Detroit during the winter of 1760–61. Superseded by Major Gladwin, he continued as second in command until Pontiac's conspiracy, when he was treacherously seized and murdered by the hostile Indians. See his account of the surrender of Detroit in 1760, in *Mass. Hist. Colls.*, 4th series, ix, pp. 382–384.— Ed.

94 Lieut. Dietrich Brehm was a German engineer sent to America with the Royal Americans. He was at the capture of Ticonderoga in 1759, and at the siege of Detroit in 1763. In 1774 he secured his captaincy, and was major in 1783. From 1780–85, he was barrack-master at Quebec. For Brehm's topographical description of his voyage to Detroit in 1760, see *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, 1883, pp. 22–25.

Médard Gamelin was born in Canada in 1733, a nephew of La Jémerais, for whom see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 66. Gamelin removed to Detroit in early life and was captain of militia, in that capacity taking aid to Niagara (1759). There he was captured, and having taken the British oath of allegiance was sent to pacify the French habitants, and induce them to accept British rule. Gamelin remained in Detroit, marrying there (1763) Angélique Cicotte. He was prominent in militia circles in later life, and died sometime during the American Revolution. — Ed.

226 of letters, the detachment entered Detroit Nov. 29, and without opposition raised the British colors over the fort. The following days the militia were disarmed, the habitants took the oath of allegiance, the Indians were conciliated, and the French officers with the garrison sent off Dec. 2, to Philadelphia, under escort of Lieutenant Holmes<sup>95</sup> and thirty rangers, together with fifteen English prisoners released by the neighboring Indians.

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95 Holmes was a trusted officer in the rangers, in which he seems to have enlisted about 1758. In 1760 he supported Rogers on his raid into Canada. After returning East with the French prisoners, he does not again appear in Western history.— Ed.

Dec. 7, Lieutenant Butler and Ensign Wait of the rangers were sent with twenty men and an Indian interpreter to relieve the French garrison at Forts Miami and Ouiatanon.<sup>96</sup> A detachment was also sent to bring in the French troops from

<sup>96</sup> These officers of the rangers maintained their places for about a year, when they were superseded by regular officers of the Royal Americans. Butler spoke French well, and seems to have had good success with the Indians—see *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xix, p. 61. He relieved the French officer at Miami post, who was probably Godefrey de Linctot; see *ante*, p. 212, note 66. Butler was in New York by the next December.— Ed.

227 the Shawnee town on the Scioto.<sup>97</sup> The next day Rogers started for Michilimackinac with Montour<sup>98</sup> for interpreter; a rumor had already reached Detroit of the departure of the French garrison from that place.<sup>99</sup> However, the post was not secured at this time, for Rogers and his party were compelled by the forming of ice to go back. Dec. 23, he left Detroit, and returned to Fort Pitt. Captain Campbell, with a detachment of Royal Americans remained in charge of Detroit, while Lieutenant Butler commanded at the Miami fort.

<sup>97</sup> For the French officer at this place see *ante*, p. 218, note 78. He came in to Fort Pitt in February, ill and with only six men of his detachment. See Colonel Bouquet's letter in *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xix, p. 61, where he is designated "Mr. Artel."— Ed.

<sup>98</sup> Andrew Montour was a noted halfbreed, much employed in the English interest. His mother was captured by the Iroquois during Frontenac's War, and living among the Indians married an Oneida chief. Her son Andrew is first mentioned in 1742 as possessing a European type of countenance. In 1744 he began his career as interpreter for the English, under Conrad Weiser; from then until the treaty of Fort Stanwix (1768), he was official

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interpreter for the province of Pennsylvania, and often assisted in other negotiations. He accompanied Croghan to the far West in 1750–51; was at the Logs town treaty of 1752; aided Trent the following year; and served with Washington at Fort Necessity (1754). He accompanied Braddock's forces in 1755, and throughout the war (1755–60) was engaged in various missions to the Iroquois. After accompanying Rogers on the latter's futile attempt to reach Mackinac (1760), he returned to the Susquehanna, was there useful during Pontiac's War, and in 1764 led a raid against the Delawares. He died between 1768 and 1772. His son John was in the American interest during the Revolution. See Thwaites and Kellogg, *Revolution on the Upper Ohio* (Madison, 1908), p. 28.— Ed.

99 Campbell wrote Bouquet, under date of Dec. 11, 1760: "The commandant of Michillimakinac they say is gone with his small Garrison to winter with the Indians for want of Provisions, he only has a few soldiers"— *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xix, p. 47. See preceding document for the origin of this report.— Ed.

The winter of 1760–61 passed quietly at all the posts. In November, Colonel Bouquet was recalled to Fort Pitt and made 228 head of the Western department in place of Monckton, who had been summoned to New York. The principal incidents at the posts were frequent conferences with the Indians concerning English prisoners, some hundreds of whom were yet in the hands of the savages; and the arrival and departure of traders, who, seeking licenses from the military officers, were soon on their way to the tribesmen whose custom they had so long desired. Nothing more was now heard from Mackinac and the far Western posts, save that two tribes came to Detroit in December in a starving condition for want of ammunition. The change of political ownership was, however, slowly creating distrust and dissatisfaction. The methods of English traders were not as conciliatory as those of the French, although their prices were often more satisfactory; the British officers were less experienced than their predecessors in dealing with the red men; and the British governmental policy was parsimonious in the matter of Indian presents.

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In June Capt. Donald Campbell discovered at Detroit a considerable plot to surprise the posts and capture the garrisons. This conspiracy appeared to emanate from the Seneca, but the Shawnee and Delawares readily entered therein, whereas the nations at Detroit proved adverse. Prompt measures in removing the traders' stores at Sandusky, and warning all the Ohio posts by runners, broke up the incipient revolt.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the documents concerning this conspiracy, see *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xix, pp. 78, 81–90.— Ed.

It was now deemed advisable to send reinforcements to the upper country. The British superintendent of Indian affairs, Sir William Johnson,<sup>2</sup> deemed it wise to hold a treaty at Detroit.

<sup>2</sup> Sir William Johnson was a native of Ireland (1715). Coming to America at an early age, he settled in the Mohawk valley, and having been adopted by the Iroquois became the most noted and successful Indian agent in the British colonies. During the French and Indian War he maintained the Eastern Iroquois in the English interests. Commander at the battle of Lake George (1755), he was for his success made baronet and awarded a large land grant. Throughout the war he was active in military operations and secured the surrender in 1759 of Fort Niagara. The succeeding years of his life were occupied with Indian negotiations. This journey to Detroit, in the summer of 1761, was the longest as well as one of the most important journeys he undertook. His great success at the treaty of Fort Stanwix (1768) was of value to the colonists. He died at his home "Johnson Hall," in 1774.— Ed.

<sup>229</sup> The troops there were a detachment of the Royal American (or Sixtieth) infantry, and two companies of Gage's light infantry (or Eightieth), commanded by Maj. Henry Gladwin.<sup>3</sup> ]

<sup>3</sup> Henry Gladwin came to America as lieutenant in the 48th regiment (1755) and was wounded at Braddock's defeat the same year. Two years later he was transferred to the

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80th, in which he was being again wounded at Ticonderoga in 1758. The next year he was promoted to a majorship, being one of Amherst's trusted officers, and in garrison at Montreal, 1760–61. His visit to Detroit (1761) was brief. The next year he relieved Campbell as commander at that post and sustained the siege of Pontiac and his allies. Having been relieved, he returned to England (1764) and finally attained the rank of major-general (1782), dying at his seat in Derbyshire, June 22, 1791.— Ed.

### 1761: CONFERENCE AT DETROIT

[Extracts from the diary of Sir William Johnson of his journey to Detroit, July 4–Oct. 30, 1761. Reprinted from William L. Stone, *Life and Times of Sir William Johnson* (Albany, 1865), ii, appendix iv, pp. 429–477.]

Wednesday [August] 19th. At four o'clock embarked [at Niagara] with the Royal American party, and the Yorkers, under the command of Lieutenant Ogden;<sup>4</sup> the Royal Americans,

<sup>4</sup> According to a letter of Bouquet, Johnson took with him sixty privates of the Royal Americans from the garrison at Niagara. Major Gladwin, with a detachment of the 80th infantry, was ten days in advance of Sir William— *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xix, p. 108.

Lieutenant Ogden was probably in the Indian service, as his name does not appear in the New York provincial lists. He was sent back soon after reaching Detroit; see *post*. An officer of this name was at the treaty of Fort Stanwix (1768).— Ed.

230 commanded by Ensigns Slosser and Holmes,<sup>5</sup> with four battoes, and the former with eight battoes and one birch canoe, with the Mohawks, &c., making in all thirteen boats. Mr. Gambling sent me word he would be here to-morrow morning in order to accompany me.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Francis Schlosser, son of the well-known Captain Joseph Schlosser, who built (1761) the fort on the Niagara frontier, entered the army as ensign of the Royal Americans in 1759. He was quite young, for while in command of Fort St. Josephs he was designated as “a boy.” Considerable complaint of his conduct at that post is found— *Mich. Pion. and*



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*Hist. Colls.*, xix, pp. 139, 169. May 25, 1763, he was captured by hostile Indians, kept prisoner for nearly a month, and on June 14 exchanged at Detroit. Nothing further is known of his career. His father died at Niagara after 1772.

Robert Holmes joined the army as ensign in December, 1760. He arrived at Niagara July 12, and upon reaching Detroit was taken very ill. Upon his recovery, he was sent to relieve Lieutenant Butler of the rangers, at Fort Miami. There he was in command for about eighteen months. In March, 1763, he notified Gladwin of the plot among the Indians, but fell a victim thereto on May 27.— Ed.

6 Johnson found Gamelin (see ante, p. 226, note 94) at Niagara, whence he had fled from Detroit upon a warning that that post was to be destroyed. He told Johnson that he would willingly return with him.— Ed.

\* \* \* \* \*

Thursday [Sept.] 3d. At 4 o'clock I arose, and wrote Mr. Croghan a few lines by Mr. Gambling's canoe, to meet me about six miles this side of the fort with horses. I take Mr. Gambling in my boat. Fine morning, but cold, and the wind right ahead. Embarked at 7 o'clock and on our way passed several fine islands and drowned meadows. About twelve, came to the house of Mr. Jarves of the militia, which is the best house I have seen in the neighborhood.<sup>7</sup> Eat some melon there, and set

<sup>7</sup> Probably a misprint for Janis. Nicolas François Janis was born in Quebec in 1720; some time before his twenty-fifth year he emigrated to Detroit, where in 1745 he married Thérèse Meloche. A stone-mason by trade, he assisted in building the Huron mission. In 1751 he rented the mission-farm; for the terms of this lease see *Jesuit Relations*. lxx, pp. 69–71.— Ed.

231 off for Detroit which is but a league from said house. Opposite to the Huron Town, and Pottawattamie village, saw Mr. Croghan and St. Martin, the interpreter, with horses expecting us.<sup>8</sup> On coming farther, the Indian towns drew out and began to fire with cannon

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and small arms, which I returned by three volleys from the Royal American detachment; then went on shore and rode to town through a number of the settlements. All along the road was met by Indians, and near the town, by the inhabitants, traders, &c. When I came to the verge of the fort, the cannon thereof were fired, and the officers of the garrison with those of Gage's Light Infantry received me, and brought me to see my quarters, which is the house of the late commandant Mr. Belestre, the best in the place. After having given directions for my baggage to be brought there, went to Campbell's quarters, where his officers and several of the French gentlemen were introduced to me. Hearing Major Gladwin was very ill, went with Captain Campbell to see him, and found him very ill.<sup>9</sup> Then returned to my quarters, and supped that evening with Captain Campbell.

8 Jacques Baudry *dit* St. Martin was born in Quebec in 1733. Coming to Detroit in his youth, he married (1760) Marianne Navarre. He was official interpreter for the Huron before the British advent, and the latter continued his employment in the same capacity. During Pontiac's conspiracy he was much distrusted both by the Indians and British. Dying about 1768, he left a considerable estate, a portion of which later fell into Gov. Lewis Cass's possession.— Ed.

9 Major Gladwin's illness was probably the cause of his return to the East in the autumn of 1761, leaving Captain Campbell in command until Aug. 23, 1762.— Ed.

Friday 4th. Fine weather. I was all the forenoon taken up with receiving visits and compliments from the different nations of Indians, that came here to meet me, to whom I gave pipes, tobacco, and some drink. Dined with Captain Campbell, whom I desired to order a *feu de joie* on the great success of his Majesty's arms in the reduction of Belle Isle, and destroying so many villages of the Cherokees,<sup>10</sup> which was done

10 Belle Isle, a large French island off the Bay of Quiberon, was besieged in April, 1761, by a British fleet under Admiral Augustus Keppel, and captured by a landing similar in character to that at the Plains of Abraham.

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The Cherokee, a large and powerful tribe of Southwestern Indians, had long been in the English interest; but a detachment returning from Forbes's campaign (1758) had been annoyed by the German settlers of the Shenandoah, and there was thereafter a constant feud between the southwestern borderers and these tribesmen. The Cherokee chiefs thereupon sought the governor of Louisiana, while on a visit to Mobile, and made an alliance with the French. For two years the horrors of Indian warfare desolated the frontier, Fort Loudoun (near the site of Knoxville, Tenn.) was captured in 1760, and the following year a large body of regulars under command of Col James Grant penetrated the hostile territory. On June 7, 1761, a pitched battle was fought, in which the Indians were signally defeated. The British army then proceeded to the native towns and destroyed nearly all of those belonging to the Middle Cherokee, whereupon the baffled tribesmen sought peace, which was signed July 7, 1761.— Ed.

232 about 7 o'clock in the evening, having first acquainted all the Indians with the news, and the reason of firing; which they seemed greatly pleased at. The Ottawas and several other nations sent me word they would wait on me next morning to pay their respects. This afternoon, Captain Campbell went with me to Major Gladwin's quarters, and there we settled about garrisoning the several posts in the best manner we possibly could, considering the bad situation of affairs, viz; the lateness of the season, the badness of the boats, and above all the scarcity of provisions and ammunition, which Captain Campbell and Major Gladwin reported to me to be the case, the latter having lost all of his ammunition and a great part of his provisions in coming here. These circumstances, well weighed and considered, we unanimously agreed to send back [blank] men of Gage's [light infantry]<sup>11</sup> to Niagara, for provisions,

<sup>11</sup> Gage's light infantry, officially known as the 80th foot, was enrolled in America during the summer of 1758, being intended by its proposer, Lord Howe, to serve for scouting and skirmishing. The uniform was a simple brown coat without skirts, and the men were trained in woodcraft. Their place in the line of advance at Ticonderoga (July, 1758) was directly behind that of Roger's rangers. It will thus be seen that the three regiments of whom

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detachments were ordered to the Western posts—the rangers, the Royal Americans, and the light infantry—were all enlisted in America, though as a rule serving under British or European officers.— Ed.

233 as the vessels bringing provisions here are very precarious. The remainder to proceed with a garrison of an officer and thirty men for the fort of Missillimackinac and ten months' provisions; also an officer and fifteen men for St. Joseph; an officer and fifteen men for Warragthenhook [Ouiatanon], with as much provision as can possibly be spared; and an officer and fifteen men to relieve the Rangers at the Miami's post immediately;—Captain Campbell and Bellfore<sup>12</sup> to settle and order the proper number of boats necessary for said service, and make an exact calculation of the quantity of provisions for said garrisons tomorrow morning, so that they may get off as soon as possible. I am greatly distressed for the want of provisions for the Indians, having received none from Fort Pitt as I expected;

<sup>12</sup> Capt. Henry Balfour was a Scotchman, possibly identical with the person known in later life as the “Laird of Dunbog.” He entered the 1st (or Royal) regiment of foot as lieutenant, in 1755. In 1758 he came with his regiment to America, and served first at the siege of Louisburg (1758). Thence his command was transferred to the army of Amherst, on the Lake Champlain frontier (1759). The following winter, while in quarters in New York, Balfour was promoted to a captaincy in Gage's light infantry. In that capacity he led his detachment to the West, with Maj. Henry Gladwin of the 60th. Balfour was detached for the tour of the lake posts, and left a garrison at each. Arriving at Detroit, via St. Josephs, Nov. 22, 1761, he attempted to return by boat to Niagara. Buffeted by autumn winds the detachment put in at Sandusky; thence they determined to march by land to Pittsburgh. They found the floating ice of Beaver Creek impossible of passage, and Bouquet sent out a force of woodsmen to bring them into Fort Pitt, where they arrived Dec. 28. Balfour proceeded on to New York, where he found that he had been re-transferred (October 7) to his old regiment, as captain. In the spring of 1762, this command sailed upon the West Indies expedition. At the siege of Havana, Captain Balfour was wounded. The following

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year the regiment was ordered home. In 1772 Balfour was on garrison duty at Minorca, but by 1777 his name had disappeared from the British army lists.— Ed.

234 wherefore am obliged, at a very great expense, to purchase cattle and what I can get here.

Saturday 5th. A very wet morning; cleared up about 10 o'clock. this day I wrote to Ferrall Wade, which is to go by Lieutenant Ogden. Had [to dine with me] Captains Campbell, Belfore, McCloud,<sup>13</sup> eight or ten other officers, and Colonel Du Quesne and Major La Mott, his brother, who were my prisoners at Niagara.<sup>14</sup> While the company were drinking, two of the head men of the Hurons came in to acquaint me that the women of their nation were all come to see me and bid me welcome here to their country. On which they were introduced by Mr. Croghan, to the number of fifty, old and young. After saluting them, I ordered them a glass of wine and some biscuit, and drank their healths. They then told me, they had brought me some corn, the produce of their land, which they begged I would accept of. In return I ordered them a beef for their nation, which pleased them much. At parting they shook hands again, and bid farewell;—so ended their visit. In the morning all the principal inhabitants of Detroit, with their priest, came to pay their respects and desire protection. I returned

<sup>13</sup> Ferrall Wade appears to have been Sir William's business agent. Captain Norman McLeod joined the 80th infantry as lieutenant, in 1757. Three years later he was promoted to a captaincy, being stationed at Niagara under Maj. William Walters.— Ed.

<sup>14</sup> These persons were brothers of the Sieurs Dagneau Douville, noted in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, pp. 321, 322.

Louis César Dagneau Douville, Sieur de Quindre, was born in 1704, and as early as 1736 was at Detroit, where he married Marie Anne Picoté de Bellestre, sister of the last commandant. Sieur de Quindre was colonel of the Detroit militia, and in that capacity was captured at Niagara in 1759. He was of aid to the English in the Pontiac troubles (1763–

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64), and died at Detroit (1767), leaving numerous descendants; one of his sons entered the British army.

Guillaume Dagneau Douville, Sieur de la Mothe, was born in 1706, and married at Montreal. He was in Detroit by 1750. Probably it was his son who, as captain in the Indian department, was captured by George Rogers Clark at Vincennes (1779), and imprisoned in Virginia in company with Lieut.-Gov. Henry Hamilton.— Ed.

235 the compliment, and gave them assurances of his Majesty's protection, while they continued to behave as good subjects. Then gave them rusk and shrub in plenty, which they made very good use of, and went away extremely well pleased—their priest at their head.<sup>15</sup>

15 This priest was Simplicus Bocquet (usually called Père Simple), a Recollect friar who was parish priest for Ste. Anne du Detroit from 1754–84. During the American Revolution he tried to ameliorate the condition of the captives brought to Detroit, and was a worthy, kindhearted man.— Ed.

Sunday 6th. A very fine morning. This day I am to dine with Captain Campbell, who is also to give the ladies a ball, that I may see them. They assembled at 8 o'clock at night, to the number of about twenty. I opened the ball with Mademoiselle Curie—a fine girl?<sup>16</sup> We danced until five o'clock next morning. This day the Ottawas, by Mr. La Bute, interpreter,<sup>17</sup> made me a speech, chiefly on the begging order, and to

16 This must have been Marie Catherine Cuillerier *dit* Trotier de Beaubien, whose grandmother married, as her second husband, the father of Sieur de Bellestre. last commandant of Detroit. The children of her first husband, Jean Cuillerier, accompanied her to Detroit, and from their mother's maiden name were frequently known as Beaubien. Of these, Jean Baptiste married at Detroit (1742) Marie Anne Lothman de Barrois. The eldest daughter of this couple, Marie Catharine, was born in 1743, and would thus have been eighteen at the time of Sir William's visit. She married (1771) Jacques Parant, who

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was still living in 1824. Mademoiselle Cuillerier *dit* Beaubien was the aunt of Col. Jean Baptiste and Marc Beaubien, prominent in the early history of Chicago.— Ed.

17 Pierre Chesne *dit* La Butte was born in Montreal in 1698. In 1717 he came to Detroit and became one of the principal merchants of the place, likewise being churchwarden and for many years official interpreter for the Ottawa. In 1760 he gave a considerable donation to the church of Ste. Anne. He acted as go-between in the negotiations that took place with Pontiac in 1763, and was suspected by some of the English, but probably unjustly, for Gladwin trusted him throughout the entire siege. His large house and garden on the north side of the fort were destroyed by the English, as affording a shelter to the besiegers. La Butte lived at Detroit until 1774.— Ed.

236 support the French interpreters. Answered them with a belt of wampum.

Monday 7th. A fine morning. Montour not yet come, nor the Mohawks. I shall send the interpreters this day to desire that all the nations may be ready to attend the meeting tomorrow, or next day at farthest. The Light Infantry and Royal Americans are making ready to set off to-morrow, or next day at farthest. I had all the Delawares, Shawanese, Six Nations, and Huron chiefs from the south side of the lakes this afternoon, when I told them I should speak to all on Wednesday, when I desired that they and all the other nations would be ready to attend. Gave them pipes, tobacco, and film, for their whole number, and parted very friendly.

Tuesday 8th, 1761. Fine morning. This day am about finishing what I have to do of the speech, which I am going to make to-morrow to all the nations assembled here. Also making out instructions and orders for the officers going to command at Missillimackinac, St. Joseph, Miamis, &c. On examining the goods intended for the present, many are found rotten and ruined by the badness of the boats, for want of a sufficient number of oil cloths, &c.; so that I shall be obliged to replace them, and add more goods to the present, the number of Indians being very great. In the afternoon, I had the two interpreters at my

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quarters, when I got Mr. Williams, of the light infantry, 18 to tell them in French what I intended to say, which he did very distinctly.

18 Probably this was Dr. Joseph Williams, surgeon of the 80th infantry. He was commissioned March 18, 1758, being drowned in Lake Erie on the night of Nov. 7, 1763, while conveying succor from Niagara to the beleaguered garrison at Detroit.— Ed.

Wednesday 9th. Fine morning, but windy. I ordered all the seats to be out of doors for the meeting, there being no house here half large enough to meet in. Received an account this morning of the loss of one of my store boats which Montour was in.

I ordered two cannon to be fired at 10 o'clock, as a signal for them all to assemble. This day, the Light Infantry and 237 Royal Americans, which are to garrison the forts at Missillimackinac, La Baye and St. Joseph, set off with ten months' provisions. I gave Mr. Lastly for Missillimackinac, 19 about fifty pounds of tobacco out of my present. Nickus, of Canajoharie, arrived this morning, and left Montour and Preston, 20

19 Lieut. William Leslie (he spells the name Leslye) entered the army (1758) as ensign of the 60th. May 30, 1759, he was promoted to a lieutenancy. Serving with Amherst on the campaigns of 1759–60, he was detached with Robert Rogers to advance to Detroit and take possession of the country. It was Leslie, who, sent in advance, received the first surrender from the French. In April, 1761, Campbell sent Leslie to Niagara for provisions, from which expedition he returned in May. Leaving Detroit Sept. 9, 1761, the detachment arrived at Mackinac Sept. 28, just in time to rescue Alexander Henry from a band of Indians bent on plundering and killing him. Leslie was left in command (Oct. 1) with a small garrison of twenty-eight men. In 1762 he requested to be “relieved from this disagreeable Station” ( *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xix, p. 166), and during that same autumn the post was reinforced by Capt. George Ethrington, Leslie remaining as second in command. After having been saved from massacre in Pontiac's conspiracy (1763), Leslie went to Montreal. The following year, the 60th regiment was largely reduced, and Leslie was transferred to the 44th, with the same rank. The latter regiment was stationed



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in Canada until the American Revolution. At the beginning of that struggle we find Leslie entering the 46th infantry, which was sent to America in 1776. After two years his name is dropped from the army lists, so that he either retired or, more probably, was killed in some campaign in America; his regiment took part in the battles of Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth, and served during the descent on the Rhode Island coast.— Ed.

20 Nickus Hance, whose Indian name was Taicarihogo, was a Canajoharie sachem of importance, who had taken part in the former French war, and been a captive in Canada (1747–49). After his exchange, Governor Clinton rewarded him (1751) for his fidelity. He was with Johnson at the battle of Lake George (1755), on which occasion he lost a son. He was supposed to have been step-father to Joseph Brant.

William Preston was formerly a lieutenant in the 44th infantry. He seems to have resigned in 1760, and spent the succeeding winter with the Seneca at Genesee. He joined Johnson on the latter's route to Niagara.— Ed.

238 with my small boat, yesterday, at the entrance of this river. What they had of my stores in their boat is all lost and ruined, having been, he says, east away. About 10 o'clock, the Indians were all met, when I went there with Captain Campbell and all his officers, the officers of the Light Infantry, all the merchants and principal people of the town. Mr. Croghan, Lieut. Johnson,<sup>21</sup> Mr. Breme, Mr. Mya from Pittsborough, Mr. Bostwick from Missillimackinac,<sup>22</sup> Mr. [La] Bute and St. Wartin, Interpreters, the former to the Ottawas, the latter to the Hurons,

21 Guy Johnson was a nephew of Sir William. Born in Ireland in 1740, he came early to America, for the purpose of joining his uncle. In 1759 he was made lieutenant in the New York provincial troops. He afterwards married a daughter of Sir William, and upon the latter's death (1774) succeeded him in his office of superintendent of Indian affairs. A Loyalist during the Revolution, in 1776 he abandoned New York for Canada, whence he urged his Indian allies against the New York frontier. His estates were confiscated, and after 1783 he retired to London, where he died in 1788.— Ed.

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22 For Breme see Dietrich Brehm, *ante*, p. 225, note 94.

Lieut. Elias Meyer (Mya) joined the Royal Americans in that capacity in 1756. He served with Bouquet, and was by him sent (Aug. 13, 1761) to build a fort at Sandusky. He returned on or about Sept. 1 to Detroit for supplies and workmen, but left for Sandusky on the 17th. Later, Johnson visited him at this place, where he remained in garrison until the spring of 1762. Being then promoted (April 27) to a captain-lieutenancy, he was ordered down to Quebec. When the regiment was reduced after the Peace of Paris (1763), he lost his commission, and left the army.

Henry Bostwick was the first English trader to go to Mackinac after the capitulation of Montreal. No doubt he had found it dangerous to remain, as did Alexander Henry at this time, and retired to Detroit. He probably returned with the troops, and remained in the vicinity until captured by the Chippewa, June, 1763. The Ottawa having secured possession of his person carried him to Montreal for a ransom. Bostwick was soon back in Mackinac, however, where in 1770 he entered a company to exploit the copper mines of Lake Superior. In 1780 he petitioned the governor against the "new set of men" (traders that were opposing the measures of the older traders). In 1781 he signed the treaty for the purchase of the island of Mackinac, to which no doubt he removed with the garrison.— Ed.

239 Printup only as spectator.<sup>23</sup> After the speech was delivered, I arose, and with the gentlemen went to dinner at my quarters, where, about 5 o'clock, the Hurons, Ottawas, &c., came to the amount of thirty chiefs, to let me know they understood the Indians from the south side of Lake Erie were determined, to return, having heard what I had to say; and that, therefore, they would now, while said Indians were here, let me know how that war-belt was sent here. I thanked them for their honesty and readiness, but told them it was better to have it mentioned in public, when I received an answer from all the nations. To this they agreed, and said that some chiefs of each nation might take to drinking, they would be glad to answer on the morrow; and desired two guns might be fired, as on this day, whereby they might all assemble and finish;—to which I readily agreed, and promised

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them that it should be done accordingly. Gave them pipes, tobacco, and some liquor,— then parted.

23 William Printup had long served Sir William as interpreter, being employed in that capacity from 1753 to the close of the war. In 1756, at the request of the Onondaga, he went to live among them as English agent and smith. Descendants of his lived upon the Tuscarora reservation in the nineteenth century.— Ed.

Thursday 10th. Fine weather. My quarters full of Indians of different nations about little affairs of their own, which I settled. After that, a very honest Seneca Indian came and told me what he had heard among his relations living here, which he delivered very ingenuously, and seemed to me to be very just. No account yet of Montour or the boer's crew. This day I wrote by Captain McCloud to Major Walters<sup>24</sup> for ammunition, provisons, and an officer, sergeant and ten men for the garrisoning one of the posts, viz: Miamis or Miamis

24 Maj. William Walters was a veteran in the British service, having been captain in the 45th in 1747. In 1760 he was made major of the Royal Americans and sent to command at Niagara where he remained until transferred (June, 1762) to his old regiment Returning to England, he retired in 1768 on half-pay, and died at his home in Lyme, March 7, 1789, aged ninety-three years.— Ed.

240 Wawiaghtanook.<sup>25</sup> Yesterday Captain Balfour with one hundred and twenty of Gage's [light infantry], set off with the Royal Americans for Missillimackinac, &c. I wrote the general [Amherst] this day by Captain McCloud. In the afternoon, the Indians all assembled, and gave their answer to my speech made the day before, which was very satisfactory. After all was over, the White Mingo<sup>26</sup> came to my quarters where all the gentlemen were with me, and desired I would return to the meeting, as he and the Six Nations from Ohio had something to say in answer to what the Hurons had charged them with. We all returned to the council, where we found every nation by themselves. Then Kaiaghshota,<sup>27</sup> a Seneca chief,

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25 Apparently there had been no garrison at Ouiatanon (Wawiaghtanook) during 1760 and 1761. Rogers planned to send thither Ensign Wait of the rangers in 1760, but a letter of Campbell's ( *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xix, p. 162) would indicate that the British did not take possession until November, 1761. Upon Johnson's request, Major Walters sent from Niagara Lieut. Edward Jenkins, who had entered the Royal Americans as ensign in 1756. He set off from Detroit for Ouiatanon, Nov. 6, 1761, and remained there in garrison until captured, June 1, 1763. In 1764 he succeeded in escaping, and ultimately reached Mobile, whence he returned to New York. His regiment being reduced, he was not again in military employment until May, 1771, when he was commissioned in the 65th foot, a position held until 1775.— Ed.

26 White Mingo was a Seneca, whose home was on the Allegheny not far above Pittsburgh. He took part in the attacks on the forts in 1763, and signed Bouquet's treaty of 1764. Thence he maintained peaceful relations with his white neighbors. For his part in the Treaty of 1775, see Thwaites and Kellogg, *Rev. on the Upper Ohio*, index. He died before 1777.— Ed.

27 Kaiaghshota (Guyashusta, Kiasola) was one of the most prominent Seneca chiefs of this period. He was sachem for the Western Seneca, who lived upon the Allegheny, and his home was a few miles above Pittsburgh. He seems to have been favorable to the English, since he accompanied Washington's embassy in 1753, and was rewarded by Johnson for an embassy undertaken in 1759. However, during the period of French ascendancy (1754–58) on the upper Ohio, he acted in their favor, and his relation to the plot of 1761, as here narrated by Johnson, shows his secret antipathy to British rule. In 1763 he was an arch-plotter with Pontiac, and that uprising is occasionally spoken of as "Guyashusta's War." After Bouquet's punitive expedition, this chief signed the treaty of 1764, and appears to have faithfully kept it. In 1766 Johnson rewarded him with a medal, and frequently employed him in embassies to Western Indians. In the Dunmore troubles of 1774. Guyashusta's influence was efficacious as a peacemaker, and it was

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exerted in the same direction at the Pittsburgh treaty of 1773 (see *Rev. on the Upper Ohio*. pp. 108–126) In 1777 he attended the English conference at Oswego, and although adverse to taking up the hatchet against the Americans was finally overruled, and joined in the Oriskany campaign, although in no other battles of that time. When Bredhead raided the upper Allegheny (1779), Guyashusta removed to the neighborhood of Niagara, returning later re the site of Meadville. He was one of the chief instigators of the attack on Hannastown (1782), but after the peace of 1783 returned to his old home near Pittsburgh, and was on friendly terms with its early settlers. He finally died at Cornplanter's village in the summer of 1795. Much of the foregoing information was secured by Dr. Draper in interviews with Guyashusta's son and nephew. See Draper MSS., 4S.— Ed.

241 and one who accompanied the two messengers who came here with the war axe to the Hurons, stood up, and with great oratory and resolution, endeavored to clear himself of the imputations laid to his charge, when one of the Hurons named Adariaghta, the chief warrior of the nation, confronted him and the White Mingo, and discovered everything which had passed. Upon which, the White Mingo told them that they had come several times to him at Ohio, and pressed him and others living there to fall upon the English, which he as often refused. After a great deal of altercation I got up, and desired that they would not go to too great lengths, being now joined in stricter friendship and alliance then ever. Left them liquor and broke up the meeting, telling them I intended next day delivering them some goods, &c., which I had brought for their use, and desired they would be punctual as soon as the cannon was fired. They thanked me, and promised they would be ready to attend—parted. Supped with Cole and went to bed early.

Friday 11th. Fine morning. At 6 o'clock, Mr. Croghan set about cutting up the present, and making proper divisions 16 242 thereof for the several nations. This morning, I gave Baby's daughter a present, her father being principal sachem of the Hurons.<sup>28</sup> Went to the meeting about 12 o'clock, where the Indians were all assembled to the number of five hundred and odd, when the Delawares and Shawanese made a speech. After that, I made a reply to what all the nations had answered yesterday, as [will appear] by records.

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Then gave them the present, divided in nine parts. After that went to dinner; and after dinner, about forty Chippewas, who had just arrived, came to see me, and made a friendly speech with a string of wampum, assuring me of their firm resolution of abiding by us, and complying with everything proposed by me, and agreed to by the rest. Gave them pipes, tobacco, and rum; then they departed. This day I ordered to be laid aside a good many things for the Huron sachems, Delawares, Shawanese, &c., and am to speak to them separately my opinion and advice.

28 The principal chief of the Detroit Huron was generally known by the title of Sastaretsy; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 279. Probably this was the chieftain who succeeded to that title in 1747, and who had taken in exchange the name of Col. Duperon Baby, a well-known Detroit habitant. Baby, the Indian, was desirous of remaining neutral in Pontiac's conspiracy, but was forced into hostilities by the Ottawa. His son was in 1775 sent to Virginia to be educated; see *Rev. on the Upper Ohio*, p. 126.— Ed.

Saturday 12th. Very fine weather and warm. I had meetings with the several nations of Ottawas, Shaganoos [Shawnee], Chippewas, &c., who made many demands and requests for their several nations, and gave the strongest assurances of being happy in what I said, and of their adhering inviolably to the promises and engagements entered into here, as did the Delawares, Shawanese, &c. by belts and strings. I then sent for the White Mingo alias Kanaghragait, and the Seneca who accompanied Tahaiadoris here with the Seneca's message, named Kaiaghshota, to whom I said a great deal concerning the late design of the Indians in their quarter: set forth the madness of it, and desired them, by a large string of wampum. to reform and repent, which they assured me they and all their 243 people, would pay the strictest observance to; then condoled the Seneca who was killed by our troops stealing horses, with two black strouds, two shirts, and two pairs of stockings; gave them their liquor, I promised, and parted. This morning four of the principal ladies of the town came to wait on me. I treated them with rusk and cordial. After sitting an hour, they went away. This day, I gave private presents to chiefs of sundry nations. At 9 o'clock at night a York officer arrived at my quarters, express from Niagara in sixteen days, with

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letters from General Amherst, and the belt, which the Senecas sent here, to desire the Hurons, &c., to join against the English.

Sunday 13th. Very fine weather. I had a meeting with the Chippewa nation at my quarters, who spoke with two large hunches of wampum, giving me the strongest assurances imaginable of their resolution to live in the strictest friendship, and that the speeches I had made them, and the manner I had treated them and all the nations here, convinced them that I was their friend. They then said my presence had made the sun and sky bright and clear, the earth smooth and level, the roads all pleasant, and the lakes placid, and begged I would continue in the same friendly disposition toward them, and they would be a happy people. They then prayed to have a plentiful and fair trade, which I promised them; gave them beef, liquor &c., and parted very happy and well pleased. At 10 o'clock Captain Campbell came to introduce some of the town ladies to me at my quarters, whom I received and treated with cakes, wine and cordial. Dined at Campbell's. In the evening, several Indians came to my quarters to bid me farewell.

Monday 14th. Fine weather. This day I am to have all the principal inhabitants to dine with me; also Captain Campbell to have a meeting with the Hurons, and give their chiefs a private present; also to settle with the two French interpreters and pay them. I took a ride before dinner up toward the Lake St. Clair. The road runs along the river side, which is all Settled thickly nine miles. A very pleasant place in summer, but at other seasons too low and marshy. The French 244 gentlemen and the two priests who dined with us got very merry. Invited them all to a ball to-morrow night, which I am to give to the ladies.

Tuesday 15th. Fine weather. This day settled all accounts. Paid La Bute one hundred dollars for interpreting all the time for Captain Campbell; to St. Martin one hundred dollars for the same; to Doctor Anthony \* \* \*.<sup>29</sup> I had the three Huron interpreters here at my lodging, and Aaron, also St. Martin, when I thanked them kindly for their conduct in the affair of the war-belt offered by the Six Nations' deputies this summer; strongly recommended to them to give a steady and uniform adherence to all the advice I had



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given them; and told them I looked upon them as the head of the Ottawa Confederacy. Having lighted a council-fire, I desired they would take good care to keep it in good order, and not neglect; their friends and allies, as the Six Nations have done, notwithstanding all my admonitions. Cautioned them against evil minded people or their wicked schemes; laid before them the danger of quarreling with the English; all which they thanked me for, and promised to pay the strictest attention to all I said. They then let me know that the Senecas had given another war-belt to the Shawanese, who told them they would act as the Hurons had done. They then let me know that they would, on the morrow, return an answer to the speech of the Mohawks, and for that end, desired a gun to be fired in order to assemble the Ottawas, Pottawattamies, &c., to the meeting.

29 At this point the MS. is illegible. The name should be Anthon, not Anthony. Dr. George Christian Anthon was German-born (1734) and studied medicine in his native land. Coming to America in 1757, he was appointed assistant military surgeon, and in 1760 was sent with Rogers to Detroit. There he was post-surgeon until 1764, when he returned with Gladwin. The following year he accompanied George Croghan on his perilous journey down the Ohio, being imprisoned and carried with him to Detroit. There released, he settled down as postsurgeon and married (1770) into the Navarre family. In 1786 he removed to New York and died there in 1815, leaving several eminent sons.— Ed.

245 Then ordered up a very good private present, and dismissed them. In the evening, the ladies and gentlemen all assembled at my quarters, danced the whole night until 7 o'clock in the morning, when all parted very pleased and happy. I promised to write Mademoiselle Curie as soon as possible my sentiments; there never was so brilliant an assembly here before.

Wednesday 16th. Still fair weather, wind contrary for us. I ordered all the baggage to be packed up, and everything ready to embark to-morrow. About eleven, the Huron chiefs arrived, and acquainted me that they waited for the other nations, who, when assembled, would acquaint me, and come to my quarters. I am to dine this day with Captain Campbell. About one o'clock, the Hurons, Ottawas, Pottawattamies, Chippewas, &c., met at my



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quarters, and made several speeches, large and full of gratitude, as by the minutes of this day's conference will appear. They also answered to the Mohawk belts, with which they had spoken to all the nations the tenth inst; and delivered them a calumet to be kept and smoked out of at our council at the Mohawk's;—the smoke of which will roach the most distant nations. This calumet was delivered by the Chippewas, and a bunch of green painted wampum to me, wherewith to dispel all clouds, and to clear all about us. I gave out private presents to the four chiefs of the Hurons, which were very considerable, and pleased them much. Nickus, the Mohawk, desired I would take home the pipe, belts, and Strings, and deliver them to the sachems of the two Mohawk castles.

Thursday 17th. I counted out, and delivered to Mr. Croghen some silver works, viz; one hundred and fifty ear-bobs, two hundred brooches or breast buckles, and ninety large crosses of silver, to send to Ensign Gorrel of the Royal Americans,<sup>30</sup> posted at La Bay on Lake Michigan, in order to purchase

<sup>30</sup> James Gorrell was a native of Maryland, who joined the Royal Americans as ensign in 1759. In the autumn of the following year he went out with Rogers and Campbell to Detroit, and the next spring was sent back to Niagara for provisions, returning to his post June 20, 1761. Chosen to command at La Baye, he left with Captain Balfour September 10, and reaching the old French fort in Wisconsin on Oct. 12 took possession for the British king. While at his post, he succeeded to a lieutenancy March 2, 1762. Left with a small detachment in the midst of a large body of Indians, by tact and address Gorrell so won their good will that the Green Bay post was saved from the concerted attack of the Indians in June, 1763, and he was able to assist in the rescue of the imprisoned Mackinac officers. Released from native surveillance, Gorrell arrived at Montreal Aug. 13, 1763. His journal, published in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, i, pp. 24–48, is a prime source for the beginning of the English regime in Wisconsin. The 60th foot, to which Gorrell belonged, was reduced in 1763, and Gorrell's commission rescinded. According to Draper's introduction to his journal, he accompanied Major Wilkins in the autumn of that same year on the disastrous expedition that failed to reach Detroit. In 1765 he was in New York (see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*,

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viii, pp. 237–239), and in 1767 was commissioned lieutenant of the 70th infantry, stationed in the West Indies. There he remained until 1770, when his name disappears from the British army list. Probably he died in the Caribbee Islands, for the regiment was much reduced there by illness.— Ed.

246 therewith some curious skins and furs for General Amherst and myself. Also gave Mr. Croghan some silver works as a present for himself to the amount of about forty pounds,— he having given me many presents of Indian kind. This day I am to give an answer to what the Indians said yesterday, and to set off, if I can, after visiting Major Gladwin, Irwin,<sup>31</sup> &c.

<sup>31</sup> Lieut. William Irwin was commissioned ensign of the 80th in 1757, and lieutenant in 1759. He was in garrison at Niagara in the spring of 1761, and accompanied Sir William's party to Detroit.— Ed.

I set off about 4 o'clock in my boat, when the guns of the fort were fired. Arrived at the Huron castle soon, where the Indians were drawn up and saluted. Encamped here; visited the Priest Pierre Pottier;<sup>32</sup> took a ride with Captain Jarvis [Janis] in his chair; supped with St. Martin, the Jesuit, La

<sup>32</sup> Father Pierre Potier (born 1708) was a Belgium Jesuit, entering that order in 1729 and coming to Canada in 1743. After a year spent at the mission village, learning the Huron language, he came to the Huron mission of Detroit (on the site of Sandwich, Ont.), where he became superior and sole priest of the mission until his death in 1781. He was a considerable linguist, and his influence was exerted in favor of peace and harmony.— Ed.

247 Bute, &c., and went to the Hurons' council room, where they had everything in good order and three fires burning. I here delivered them an answer to what they had said the day before, as will appear by the minutes of this day. Then broke up.

Friday 18th. Fine cool morning. As my store boat did not come up last night, I dispatched my own battoe to Detroit in order to help and hurry them down here, so as to set off, having finished everything. Captain Jarvis is to have three chairs here this morning, for us

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to ride to the end of the settlement, being about six miles. This is a beautiful situation, and a dry, healthy place. At 9 o'clock, the chiefs of the Hurons met at my tent and returned an answer to all I said last night, in the most friendly manner, as will appear by the minutes of this day in the records. I then gave them twenty kettles full of tobacco, about fifty damaged blankets, twenty pounds of powder and silver works, which greatly pleased them all. Captain Campbell, several officers of the Light Infantry, French and traders, came over to take leave of me and were present at the meeting; also the priest. Treated them and the Indians; set off my boats; and went with three chairs to Captain Jarvis' where we took breakfast. Madame Jarvis accompanied us to our boats. In our way, called in at several houses to see some of the principal inhabitants. Dined with the company out of doors. Parted [from] them all at this place, which is called Isle de \* \* \* Set off at one, and encamped. At the west end of the lake, about two miles into the lake is a large island; nine leagues long and two miles broad; in several places very rocky; worth taking up, and also Isle Bois [Blanc] with one thousand acres of land on the east shore, where the Hurons formerly lived. The Indians and inhabitants were all very kind, and extremely pleased with all that was done at this meeting. We left their country with. the greatest credit.

\* \* \* \* \*

Tuesday 22d. I sent my boats around the point, and ordered them encamped at the east side of the entrance of Lake Sandusky into Lake Erie, which is about a mile across—there to wait my coming. Then I crossed the carrying-place, which is almost opposite one of the Wyandot towns, about six miles across the lake here. I sent Mr. Croghan to the Indian town, and went down the lake in a little birch canoe to the place where the block house is to be built by Mr. Myer. This place is about three leagues from the mouth of Lake Sandusky, where it disembogues itself into Lake Erie. They have a view of all boats which may pass or come in from said post. It is about three miles from another village of the Hurons, and fifteen by water from the one opposite to the carrying-place, and nine by land.

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The Pennsylvania road comes by this post. This is one hundred and seventy miles from Presque Isle, and forty miles from Detroit.

### **1762: ENGLISH ON THE UPPER LAKES. [Summary of events at the upper posts for the year 1762.]**

[The winter of 1761–62 passed quietly. During the summer, some changes were made in the disposition of troops. Maj. Henry Gladwin left Niagara July 30, to assume command at Detroit, in place of Capt. Donald Campbell, whom he retained as second in command. With him went Capt. George Ethrington<sup>33</sup> and his company of Royal Americans, who were destined to proceed to Lake Superior and possess themselves of

<sup>33</sup> Capt. George Ethrington was a native of Delaware, and enlisted as a non-commissioned man, but in 1756 a wealthy widow bought him a commission as lieutenant in the Royal Americans. Three years later he secured his captaincy, and being made commandant of Mackinac was captured by hostile Chippewa in June 1763. Reaching Montreal after great difficulties, he was next stationed in Philadelphia. His regiment was removed to the West Indies, where in 1770 he became major, in 1775 lieutenant-colonel, and in 1782 colonel. His battalion was stationed in the West Indies throughout the American Revolution, and then removed to England, where Ethrington died in 1787 or 1788.— Ed.

<sup>249</sup> the posts at Sault Ste. Marie, Kaministiquia, and Chequamegon. Having arrived at Mackinac too late for an expedition to the Lake Superior posts, Ethrington remained at this place, sending Ensign John Jamet<sup>34</sup> with a small garrison to Sault Ste. Marie. The officers at the other posts remained unchanged: Lieut. Edward Jenkins at Ouatanon, Ensign Robert Holmes at the Miami, Ensign Francis Schlosser at St. Josephs, Ensign Christopher Pauli at Sandusky,<sup>35</sup> and Lieut. James Gorrell at Green Bay. The latter was engaged all summer in treating with the tribesmen, ranging from the Menominee in the neighborhood of the fort, to the Iowa and Sioux in the farther West. Two tours of the lakes were made; one by Ensign Thomas Hutchins,<sup>36</sup> who bore messages to the Indians

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34 All that is known of this unfortunate officer is, that he was commissioned ensign of the 60th (March 30, 1758), and had been in garrison duty at Niagara, whence he proceeded with Ethrington to Detroit and Mackinac. From the latter place he was sent with a small garrison to take possession of the post at Sault Ste. Marie. After the destruction of this fort by fire (Dec. 10, 1762), he returned to Mackinac, where he was the first victim of the Chippewa outbreak (June 2, 1763).— Ed.

35 Christopher Pauli was commissioned ensign of the Royal Americans. Feb. 8. 1761, and in the summer of that year went with Lieut. Elias Meyer to build a post at Sandusky. Upon the latter's departure (1762), Pauli was left in command, being (May 16, 1763) captured by strategy. The fort was burned and most of the garrison destroyed, but Pauli was carried captive to the Indian camp near Detroit, adopted by a squaw, and finally escaped to the English fort. He was later (1770) made lieutenant, and in 1775 captain in the same regiment; stationed in the West Indies, he appears to have died there in 1778.— Ed.

36 Ensign Thomas Hutchins was a native of New Jersey (1730), and joined the army when young. In 1762 he purchased a commission in the Royal Americans, and was sent out to carry instructions to the officers of the posts in regard to Indian affairs; see Gorrell's account in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, i, p. 33. He returned to Bouquet at Fort Pitt, and was with that officer in his campaign of 1764, acting as topographer for the expedition. Afterwards he accompanied Bouquet to West Florida. and securing a lieutenancy was later stationed in the West Indies. His sympathies were with the American cause, so that being in London on the outbreak of the Revolution he was imprisoned, losing thereby a large sum of money. Upon his release, Hutchins proceeded to France, and thence to America, where he joined Greene's army in Charleston. His knowledge of engineering made him geographer-general of the United States. In that capacity he surveyed many boundary lines, and prepared several valuable maps that are important historical sources. His death occurred in Pittsburgh in 1789.— Ed.

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250 around Lake Michigan; one by Sir Robert Davers, who first arrived in Detroit in April and was there again for the winter.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Sir Robert Davers was the eldest son of Sir Jermyn of Suffolk. His father having died in 1743, he was left the head of the family and lived at his seat of Rossbrooke. He came to America, apparently in 1761, for a year or more of travel and observation. In the spring of 1762 he was at Detroit, whence he left for a tour of the upper lakes, apparently visiting Lake Superior. Alexander Henry mentions his return thence, although assigning it to a wrong date. He spent the winter of 1762–63 at Detroit and going out early in May to assist Captain Robertson in sounding the upper St. Clair, was with his companions murdered by Indians (May 7, 1763), the first hostility of Pontiac's conspiracy. It is said that the body of Sir Robert was devoured at a cannibal feast.— Ed.

Late in December, fire broke out in the Sault Ste. Marie barracks, necessitating the abandonment of the post and the withdrawal of the garrison to Mackinac.<sup>38</sup> ]

<sup>38</sup> See Henry's *Travels*, pp. 64–68. Lieut. John Jamet was seriously burned, and had great difficulty in reaching Mackinac.— Ed.

### **1763: INDIAN HOSTILITIES. [Summary of Pontiac's conspiracy at the upper posts.]**

[Watchful observers throughout the winter of 1762–63 had noticed that the Indians of the upper country were restless and acted in a suspicious manner. In March, Ensign Holmes of the Miami fort intercepted a war-belt among the Indians of 251 his post.<sup>39</sup> Early in May large numbers of tribesmen commenced to gather at Detroit. On the 7th they entered the fort, with the secret intention of massacring the garrison; but Major Gladwin had been warned, and the entire force was under arms, so that the Indian plot was foiled. At the same time all traders and travellers in the woods, away from the unfortified posts, were captured or murdered. May 10, the siege of Detroit began. On the 16th of the same month Fort Sandusky was captured; the 25th, St. Josephs; the 27th, Fort Miami. On the 28th, Lieut. Cornelius Cuyler,<sup>40</sup> coming with reinforcements from Niagara, was attacked and

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driven back, many of his detachment being killed or captured. Ouiatanon fell on the first of June, and its garrison were carried prisoners to Illinois. The next day Mackinac was captured by a stratagem.<sup>41</sup>

39 See letter of Holmes in Parkman, *Pontiac's Conspiracy*, i, p. 189; and the speech of the tribesmen in *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xix, pp. 181, 182.— Ed.

40 Cuyler was ensign of the 55th infantry in 1759, and lieutenant in 1761. After his first defeat and return to Niagara, he came again to Detroit (June 30, 1763). The next year he was transferred to the 46th as captain, and as such served until made major of the 55th in 1777. He was advanced to a lieutenant-colonelcy late in the same year, and a colonelcy in 1782. His name disappears from the army lists after 1789.— Ed.

41 Alexander Henry, the trader, says that the fort fell on June 4, the King's birthday; but all contemporary letters mention the second of June as the date of the disaster at Mackinac.— Ed.

The Wisconsin Indians had not joined the conspiracy, and the fort at Green Bay was unmolested, although on May 18 an incipient Menominee plot had been detected.<sup>42</sup> June 15, Lieutenant Gorrell received word from Captain Ethrington of the trouble at Mackinac, and he at once went thither. Meanwhile, Father Du Jaunay<sup>43</sup> had left Mackinac in the hope of

42 Compare Gorrell's journal, in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, i, pp. 37, 38; the Menominee tradition, in *Id.*, viii, pp. 226–231; and the letter of Moran the trader, in *Ibid.*, p. 223.— Ed.

43 For this priest see *Id.*, xvii, p. 370.

252 securing succor at Detroit, where he arrived June 18. Finding this impossible he returned to his post. By the influence of this priest and of Charles Langlade,<sup>44</sup> the officers and traders were sent to Montreal to be ransomed. Ethrington left the command of the post in the hands of Langlade.

44 Langlade had been on the point of removal to Green Bay; see Ethrington's permit of April 13, in *Id.*, viii, p. 217. Why he did not go is not known. Henry disparages Langlade's conduct, but the letters of Ethrington show the full confidence of the latter in his integrity and desire to save the English captives.— Ed.

The siege of Detroit extended throughout the summer. On July 31 occurred the battle of Bloody Bridge, between Captain James Dalyell<sup>45</sup> of the relieving force and the Indians under Pontiac, in which the former was defeated and killed. August 5, Bouquet inflicted defeat on the Eastern conspirators at the battle of Bushy Run, and relieved the besieged garrison at Fort Pitt. In the autumn the attacks upon Detroit ceased, and the commandant was able to reduce the garrison and treat with the tribesmen for peace. The cessation of hostilities appears to have been due to the efforts of the French commandant at the Illinois.]<sup>46</sup>

45 Capt. James Dalyell (Parkman spells the name Dalzel, but the army lists give it with a y) was commissioned lieutenant of the Royal Americans in 1756, being transferred and promoted to a captaincy in the 80th light infantry in 1757. On the news of Pontiac's outbreak. Amherst sent him to Niagara, whence he was dispatched with a strong reinforcement for Detroit. He succeeded in gaining the latter fort, but sallying forth to give battle to the besiegers was defeated and slain (July 31, 1763).— Ed.

46 See letters and messages from Neyon de Villiers in "Gladwin MSS.," *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xxvii, pp. 653–655; see also Gladwin's letter of Nov. 1. 1763, pp. 675–677.— Ed.

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### 1763: MACKINAC CAPTURED

[The originals of the first three letters from Capt. George Ethrington to Charles Langlade, are in the Wisconsin Historical Library.]



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10 June, 1763.

*To Monsieur Langlade Fils*

Sir — As I am oblig'd to leave this, and have a great confidence in you, I hereby empower you to take upon you the Command of this Post, and I order all the Inhabitants as well those that are within the Fort, as those that may arrive from the different places, to obey you as such, as they shall answer the Contrary at their peril.

You will prevent as much as within your power the savages from Comitting any more outrages against any of his Majestys Subjects that may arrive here in my absence, either French or English.

You will imeadiately collect all the provisions that was taken out of the Kings store since the second Instant, and take it under your charge to be dispos'd of as hereafter may be directed.

You will please advise me from time to time, of what Bataux or Canots may arrive here and when the Vessel arrives, you will send off the Letter to the Captain which I gave you for that purpose, and endeavour to furnish him with a pilot to come up to the mission or arber crosh<sup>47</sup> or where we may at that time be.

<sup>47</sup> L'Arbre Croche mission village was founded in 1742 at the instance of the Mackinac members of the tribe; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 372. They were peaceful Indians, under the influence of their priest, and refused to enter into Pontiac's confederacy. The village has remained a centre for Catholic mission Indians to the present day. Its location was on Little Traverse Bay, near the present town of Harbor Springs, and some fifty miles distant by water, from Mackinac Island.— Ed.

Geo: Etherington Cap t

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1 B R A Regiment late Commandant at Michilimackac

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This is to Certify that I thoroughly believe Monsieur Langlad was intirly ignorant of the design of the Chipaways to surprize this post on the second instant,<sup>48</sup> and since that time he has us'd his utmost endeavors to accommodate matters with the savages, and that he was very instrumental in saving Lieut. Lesleys mine and the lives of the soldiers that were taken prisoners, and without doubt will be rewarded accordingly.

<sup>48</sup> For further particulars of the capture of this post, in Ethrington's letter to Gladwin (June 12, 1763), see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii, pp. 162–164. This was the letter sent by Father du Jaunay to Detroit. It is likewise published in *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xxvii, pp. 631, 632, and Parkman, *Pontiac*, i, pp. 275, 276. For a letter of Ethrington to Langlade, on the former's situation at l'Arbre Croche, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, viii, pp. 217–219.— Ed.

Geo: Etherington Cap t . 1 t . B. R. A. Regiment

10th June Michilimackinac , 1763.

*To Monsieur Langlad Fils .*

Arbre Croch , July 1, 1763

Sir —The people of la Baye arrived this morning and are said to be very well disposed toward us.<sup>49</sup> The reason I am writing this letter is to get the father to come here, because the savages, as well as myself, are very anxious to see him. I beg you to find an opportunity for him so that he may start as soon as possible. Mr Solomon<sup>50</sup> sends you an Order to get

<sup>49</sup> Ethrington wrote Gorrell (June 11) to evacuate the fort at Green Bay, and come at once to his assistance. This was received the 15th of June, whereupon Gorrell at once made preparation to obey instructions. The Menominee, Sauk, Foxes, and Winnebago formed

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a guard to protect the English from harm, and they arrived safely at l'Arbre Croche the evening of June 30; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, i, pp. 38–45. Gorrell states that the lives of the remaining officers and soldiers at Mackinac were spared because of the intercession of the Green Bay Indians.— Ed.

50 Ezekiel Solomon went up in the summer of 1761 from Montreal to Mackinac, to enter the fur-trade. He was one of the traders rescued by the advent of the English garrison, Sept. 28. Captured in the uprising of 1763, he was carried to Montreal and ransomed. He returned later to continue his fur-trade, outfitting in 1778 for Nipigon and elsewhere on the northern shore of Lake Superior.— Ed.

255 fifty pounds of Tobacco from Lajoie, which you will send by the father's canoe with some pounds of pork. I have already written you to get salt from Mr Bostweek. I have just received your letter through Chabollee<sup>51</sup> and I will write you more at length by him.

51 The Chabollier were a prominent Mackinac family, whose father Charles married there (1735) one of the Chevalier family. The brothers Charles, Augustin, Louis. and Hypolite were all in the fur-trade, and became faithful partisans of Great Britain.— Ed.

I remain, Sir, your very humble servant Geo: Etherington .

You will get, the fifty pounds of Tobacco from Lajoie and I will pay him if he will not give it on Mr Solomon's account.

*To Mr. Langlade, junior at Michilimackinac*

[Extract from a letter of Etherington to Gladwin, dated Michilimackinac, July 15, 1763. Reprinted from Gladwin MSS., in *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.* , xxvii, p. 639.]

Dear Sir —The Express which I sent off to Lieut. Gorrell at Labay arrived very luckily one day before that Post was to have been cutt off. The Savages of that Post came down [to] the Indian Village where I was Prisoner, & brought with them Lieut. Gorrell and all his

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Garrison, and they with Mr. Lesley, me and fourteen men that remained of the Garrison of this Place, are just embarking for Montreal under a guard of sixty savages of the Outawa Nation.

I have a thousand things to tell you but I cannot trust them by this conveyance, I have heard nothing of the four men that I sent last May to St. Josephs, there is two of my men yet with the Chippewas. I have prevailed With the savages to permit all the English merchants to carry all the goods to Montreal 256 under the convoy, I have been at a very great expense here but it was all unavoidable. I don't despair of seeing you this Fall at Detroit & am, in the meantime, Dear Sir, Yours Sincerely,

George Ethrington

[Letter from Capt. Daniel Claus<sup>52</sup> to Sir William Johnson, dated Montreal, Aug. 6, 1763. Reprinted from Franklin B. Hough, *Diary of the Siege of Detroit* (Albany, 1860), p. 31.]

Whilst I am writing this my Landlord tells me that Capt. Ethrington and Lieut. Lessley passed the Door coming from Missilimak k who I heare with all the Traders except one Trasey who was killed by the Enemy Ind ns were escorted here by the Ottawas as living near that place. I followed them immediately to the Gov s , and there learned the News of them Parts, which is that a Parcell of Chippeways to the Number of 100 assembled near the Fort as customary in the Beginning of Summer, and diverted themselves playing Football, and Capt Ethrington and Mr. Lessley (not suspecting the least Treachery, having then not heard a Word of Detroit being besieged by the Enemy Indians) stood out of the Fort to see the Indians Play: that on a Signal given by a Yell, they both were seized and bound, and that the same Instant the Centries were tomahawked, likewise Mr. James [Jamet], who was Officer of the Day in the Fort, together with 18 Soldiers killed and taken. Then the Traders were plundered and taken Prisoners; that afterwards themseves were dragged to the Chippeways'

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52 Daniel Claus was a native of Germany (1727), and when about of age came to America, where he encountered Conrad Weiser and accompanied him on an embassy to the Iroquois. His proficiency in Indian languages attracted notice, and he was sent to reside with Sir William Johnson and Hendrick the Mohawk. There he married Sir William's daughter, and became assistant superintendent of Indian affairs, with headquarters in Canada; he was likewise captain in the Royal American regiment. During the American Revolution he was an active Loyalist, and died in Wales (1787).— Ed.

257 Encampment where the Spoil was divided, and a Council held, in what Manner the Officers were to be put to Death. In the mean Time the News reached the Ottawa Town 30 Miles from Missilimakinak, who without any Delay sat off armed to Missilimakinak, and inquired into the Reason of the Chippeways Behaviour. The latter had nothing to say but that a few Days before the Blow, they received Belts of Wamp m from Pontiac, the Ottawas' Chief at Detroit, in conjunction with ye Chiefs of their Nation living there, informing them of the Rupture with the English, and desiring them to cut off Missilim k . The Ottawas were surprised and chagreened and insisted upon the Chipways delivering up the Pris rs , &c.

The latter to reconcile themselves with the Ottawas, made up a Heap of Goods and put Mr. Lassley & 2 Soldiers by them as their Share of the Prey, but they would not accept of it, and demanded all the Pris rs . The Chipways at last gave way and delivered over Mr. Lassley and the Soldiers and demanded a Ransom for the Traders, which they agreed to, and being every one exchanged they took them into their Care and afterwards escorted them safe to this Place. The Officers and Traders can not say enough of the good Behaviour of these Ottawas and Gen l Gage<sup>53</sup> is resolved to use and reward them well for their Behaviour. As Capt. Ethrington is going to Gen. Amherst, you will doubtless hear the Particulars of the whole Affair. By what I can find none but the Chipways at Missilimk and those of the same Nation & Ottawas at Detroit, are concerned in the present Breach. All the rest of the western Nations, and even som Chipways living at the Falls of St. Mary would not engage or receive the Belts sent by Pontiac, and on the contrary are

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very well inclined to our Interest, in particular the Nations living at La Bay, and the Sioux, who 17

53 Gen. Thomas Gage (1721–87) entered the army at the age of twenty, serving first in Flanders. He came to America with Braddock and served through the war, being placed in command of Montreal upon its surrender. Late in 1763 he replaced Amherst as commander-in-chief, stationed at New York. His later career in Massachusetts, where he was stationed in 1775, is well known.— Ed.

258 are always at War with the Chipways; and if the Indians now here (among whom are some other Nations as they come here in behalf of 8 Nations to the westward who assure us of their Friendship) leave this satisfied, it may be of infinite Service which I intend to represent to Gen. Gage, and I believe you will approve of making them handsome Presents as an Encouragement for their good Behaviour, and the only Means of chastising those villainous Nations who are the Occasion of this unhappy Event.

[Letter from Ethrington to Langlade. Original MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library.]

Montreal 15th August 1763.

Sir —I have just time to thank you for all your favors and to tell you that I have acquainted the General of your good Behavior who will write you himself by the savages who have been very well received.

for further particulars I refer you to the Generals Letter my Compliments to Mr. Farly<sup>54</sup> and all your Family and am

54 Jacques Philippe Farly, who had been official interpreter for the French. He was born in Canada in 1710, and after marrying a Canadian removed (about 1742) to Mackinac. Later, he had a Chippewa wife. He was, with Langlade, instrumental in saving the officers.— Ed.

Sir your most obedient Humble Servant Geo: Ethrington .

*Monseur Langlad Fils a Michilimaciniak*

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**1763: THE ILLINOIS**

[Letter from Neyon da Villiers to d'Abbadie. Translated from Villiers du Terrage, *Dernières Années de la Louisiane Française* , pp. 178, 179.]

Fort Chartres , Dec. 1, 1763.

If General Amherst had informed me of the cessation of hostilities and the ratification of the treaty, each event as it occurred, I could have disposed the tribes accordingly, convinced as I am, that a man worthily representative, is incapable of taking advantage of the law of nations. I would have had collars passed about in all this region, and I dare flatter myself, that from the confidence the red men have in me, I could have put a stop to this conspiracy. But ignorant as I was, it was out of my power to accomplish this, and I have reason to fear that matters have gone to such lengths that it will be difficult for me to quiet them.

I have had the honor to report to you what I have done to execute the orders you have sent me, in passing collars, messages, and calumets in every direction throughout this region.

The sieur Debeaujeu, who was charged with sending the messages, calumets and collars to all the northern tribes, decided to winter sixty leagues away, on the Illinois river, with a party of the Poutéouatamis and to send his messages further. The latter, with whom he has communicated, have replied to me that their chiefs and old men have always listened to my words, but that they cannot answer for their warriors, and moreover it was the Master of Life who incited them to war. It is well to observe, Monsieur, that a prophetic spirit arose among the Abénottes, a man of that nation<sup>55</sup> having without difficulty convinced

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55 This prophet appeared among the Delawares on the Tuscarora, and according to the Pontiac MS. ( *Mich. Pion. and. Hist. Colls.*, viii, pp. 268–272) was the inciting cause of the attack on the English. His dream and interview with the Master of Life, as related by De Neyon, correspond in essence with the more detailed narrative of the Pontiac MS.— Ed.

260 his own tribesmen and in turn all the red men, that God appeared to him and said:

“I am the Master of Life, it is I who have made all men, therefore I ought to watch over their preservation. That is why I give you warning, that if you suffer the English among you, you are dead. The diseases they bring, smallpox, and their imprisoning you, will totally destroy you. You must pray to me and do nothing that is not reported to me, I will sustain you, but you must abandon your mats and your manitous; a plurality of wives is against my law.”

This pretended apparition has had an effect that I can scarcely explain to you, I am perfectly convinced of its influence among the Poutéouatamis, who have rejected their mats and manitous, who live with only one wife, perform their devotions night and morning and all wish to be baptized.

The 27 of October, I received a letter from the chief Pontiak, that I enclose to you.

I have recalled from the Peorias the Sieur Toulon, as well as his garrison. I have reduced that of fort Massac to fifteen men and an officer, I have had transported to Sainte-Geneviève all the artillery that is in good repair. It consists of five pieces of cannon, one of three and four of two [pounds], eighty cannonballs and nineteen grenades. There remain three pieces of artillery, which I have given orders to have dismounted at the moment of evacuation.

Spite of my desire to return to my penates, that desire would go for nothing, if I believe it would be opposed to the good of the service, but, less to make my apology than that of the post, I have the honor to observe to you that the commandant here has always been regarded by all the tribesmen as a father ready to aid them, notably during the last three



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years, when I have succeeded in contenting them although deprived of all succor from Canada.

The savages congratulate themselves to see me here yet, after all the preparations [to secure this post] that they have seen made from fort Duquesne. They say to me constantly: "Take 261 courage my Father, do not abandon thy children, the English will never come here while there is one red man left."

It seems to me necessary to evacuate this post, this is the sole means to stop the attacks upon the English. I should have done it in the first days of march of last year, which is the best and most seasonable time, since the river is then most navigable from the height of the waters.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>56</sup> D'Abbadie, upon the receipt of this letter, wrote in his diary under date of Feb. 14, 1764: "A boat from the Illinois has just arrived. The news that Monsieur de Neyon sends me is disturbing. The savages visit him often in detachments of 20 and 30, and he must give them something or run the risk of their threats. The savages have raised the siege of Detroit, but this augurs nothing better for the English."—Villiers du Terrage, *Les Dernières Années*, p. 178.

### **1764: NEWS FROM WISCONSIN [Extracts from Hough, *Diary of Siege of Detroit* , pp. 88, 99, 100.]**

Feb. 23. This day two Saky's [Sauk] came in and informed the Commandant that the Chibbaways of the Isles about Michilimakinac had sent Belts this Winter to their Nation, to the Folavin & Puante, to strike against us this Spring, but they wou'd not receive them. That Wassong & Mashoquise<sup>57</sup> had tried to prevent that Party from coming from towards St. Joseph that was here some Time ago, but they wou'd not be advis'd, they said they had lost a Man last year & they wou'd have Revenge. That if they had known it sooner they wou'd have

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57 Wasson (Wassong, Owasso) was the chief of the Saginaw band of Chippewa, and had come to the aid of Pontiac in the siege of Detroit. In 1764 he sued for peace, and retired to Saginaw. In 1775 he went as far as Fort Pitt to treat with the American commissioners. The chiefs of the Saginaw band continued to bear this title (modified to Owasso) until the removal (1838) of the last chieftain of that name from his village near the Michigan town named for him.

Mashoquise headed the Potawatomi village at St. Josephs.— Ed.

262 advis'd us of it before they arriv'd, but they [knew] nothing of it till they were gone.

That the Delawares & Shawanys had sent Belts during the Winter towards St. Joseph & La Bay to invite the Nations thereabout to take up Arms against us in the Spring.

\* \* \* \* \*

July 1, This Evening about ten o'Clock one Reaume, a Frenchman,<sup>58</sup> arriv'd from Michilimackinac with 18 Cannoes of Savages who came from the Bay the 3d June to go to Montreal, but when they arriv'd at Michilimackinac they were inform'd that ten Cannoes that were going there and [met] an Express with a Belt informing them that they shou'd go to Niagara where they wou'd meet a great English Chief, upon which they took their Route this way, & several Cannoes from the Nations thereabouts went across Lake Huron by way of Lake Ontario.<sup>59</sup> They brought four Englishmen with them with all their Packs, who had been amongst them since last Spring was a Year.<sup>60</sup>

58 The family of Reaume was one of the earliest stationed at La Baye, where Pierre was official interpreter as early as 1728. See Mackinac Register, *post*. They were probably but distantly connected with the Detroit family of the same name.— Ed.

59 They went by way of Matchedash Bay and Toronto portage. Alexander Henry was among those who proceeded by this route. See account in his journals, pp. 156–174.

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The great English chief was Sir William Johnson, who arrived at Niagara on July 8, and remained for over a month, holding councils.— Ed.

60 For these four traders, see the succeeding document.— Ed.

\* \* \* \* \*

July 4. This morning the above Indians came in to the Amount of fifty & told the Commandant that they, the Renards, the Sieus [Sioux], the Saky's, Puants & Pians, were one Body & one Heart, and that that Heart was as well intentioned as it had always been; that he knew himself from their Behavior last Year that theirs & ours cou'd be but one; that they were invited by the General last Year to come to Montreal this 263 Spring, but that when they were assembled at Michilimacinac they received a Belt from him, telling them that he stop'd up the Passage that way as the Small Pox was amongst his People which they might catch & carry home to the Destruction of their Wives & Children, but if they wou'd go to Niagara they wou'd find all they were in need of, for which Reason they beg'd the Rivers & Lakes might be open to them as usual, shewing the Belt they receiv'd.

[Traders' reports. Reprinted from Gladwin MSS., in *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.* , xxvii, pp. 668–670.]

The Deposition of Garrit Roseboom, Tunis Fischer, Cummin Shields and Wm. Bruce, Merch's from LaBay,<sup>61</sup> as taken upon Oath before a Court of Enquiry at the Detroit the 4th day of July, 1764.

<sup>61</sup> Of these four traders three are mentioned by Gorrell, as having gone back from Mackinac with the La Baye Indians in Aug., 1763. Gerrit Roseboom belonged to a prominent family of Albany traders, of Dutch ancestry. It was his father, Capt Johannes Roseboom, who was captured on Lake Huron in 1687 by the French. The family had large interests in the, fur-trade, and evidently lost no time in going to the upper country when it was opened to the English.

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Teunis Visscher (Fisher) likewise belonged to a well-known family of Albany traders.— Ed.

Capt. James Grant, 60th Reg., President.

Lieut. George McDougal, 60 Regt., Lieut. Richard Williams, 60th Regt., Members.

Garrit Roseboom declares that about the latter end of April, 1763, he was going from the Bay to the Soaks [Sauk] to look for his Partnr Abrah[a]m Lancing who had been up there, being told that he was killed, that on his way he met some Indians coming down with some Packs, which he knew to be his, and which they said he might have for paying the carriage; That both the French and Indians told him, Mr. Lancing and his son were killed by two Frenchmen, Tibet & Cardinal, both 264 servts of Mr. Lancing, who, they had been told, upon the above [Murder made their escape to the Illinois;62 that on his return to the Bay he found Mr. Gorrell and the Garrison there, and came with them to Michilimackinac, leaving his goods in posesssion of one Jordan, a Frenchman and an Inhabitant at the Bay;63 that when he returned from Michilimackinac with the Indians to La Bay, he found some of his goods taken away. He thinks of his and Mr. Fisher's to the value of 20 pounds, wh. he said was stolen by the Indians, but Mr. Roseboom declares he saw his goods wore by Jordan's Family afterwards. That the Indians had often told him that the French at the Bay (in particular Goalie, the Interpreter to Mr. Gorrell, and Langlad's Son in Law Sourini64 ) had told *them* there was an open War between the English and French; That the French would send the Indians ammuniton enough & if they went down amongst the English they would put poison in their Rum, which he was sure prevented the Indians from coming down much sooner, and declares from the treatment He and the rest of the English Traders received, and the lyes propogated by the French at La Bay, among the Indians, such as the English being all killed, an open war with the French, the French fleets and Armies being at Quebec and the Mississippi, he thinks

62 Abraham Lansing belonged to a leading Albany family, and was probably a relative of Roseboom, whose grandmother was a Lansing.

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Thibaut and Cardinal are both common names among the voyageurs of the early Northwest. In 1790 there were five heads of families in the Illinois by the name of Thibaut (Thebalt, Thibeau, Thiebau, Tibault, Tibeau). Jean Marie Cardinal is thought by some historians to have been the first settler of Prairie du Chien.— Ed.

63 Jean Baptiste Jourdain was one of the early settlers of La Baye. Born at Montreal in 1718, he was in Wisconsin before 1746, when he married, at Mackinac, one of the Resume family. His descendant, Joseph, was a prominent settler in the early American period.— Ed.

64 Pierre le Duc *dit* Souigny married (1758) the elder Langlade's step-daughter, Agathe Villeneuve. Souigny is reputed to have accompanied Langlade on some of the latter's warlike expeditions. He died soon after this date.— Ed.

265 these Inhabitants were very bad subjects, except one Ducharm, a Montreal merchant, who had come there last Fall,<sup>65</sup> and who treated him very well, and to his knowledge had often endeavored to persuade the Indians, not to believe all that was told them—that it was all a lye. Mr. Tuenis Fisher, being in Compy with the aforesaid Deponant at La Bay, declares that the Deposition above consists literally, with his knowledge, therefore confirms the Truth thereof; Mr. Cummin Shields declares that he, being at La Bay all last winter, frequently heard (understanding the French language) the Lyes propogated to disturb the Indians, as already declared by Roseboom and Fisher, and further that he heard Young Langlad say before him and Ducharm, that there were 1,000 English killed at the Portage of Niagara, 500 Inhabitants on the back Settlements killed,<sup>66</sup> and that some Governor, he does not remember who, had been so hard pushed by the Savages that he had got shipping ready to carry him and his People away, and abandon his province; that the Dauphin of France being displeased with the Peace concluded by his Father, had arrived in the Mississippi with a large Fleet, and that the Indians would be supplied from that quarter with all necessaries that they would want: All this he declared to have read in a newspaper which came up to the Priest. That a Frenchman called Knash Bray,<sup>67</sup> who

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lived with Ducharm told him, the Deponent, that he heard Sourini say to Ducharm he would give 20 packs if there never should another Englishman come there. William Bruce declares

65 For Ducharme see *ante*, p, 161, note 4.— Ed.

66 Langlade's figures were exaggerated. His first statement refers to the massacre of Devil's Hole, on Niagara portage, Sept. 30, 1763, where a pack-train, with its military escort, coming back from Fort Schlosser, was utterly overwhelmed. A force of soldiers sallying to their assistance, was cut to pieces. The British loss was about one hundred. As for the frontiers, George Croghan estimated in January, 1764, that two thousand persons had been killed or captured from the back settlements. See Parkman, *Pontiac*, it, p. 115.— Ed.

67 In 1821 there was at Green Bay a settler named Louis Brasipré—it is possible that this may have been a similar name.— Ed.

266 that in the Spring 1763 hearing Michilimackinac was taken, he came down from the Bay and left his goods in the care of one Le Deuke, a Frenchman;68 that when he returned he found they were all taken away. Le Deuke said by the Indians. That the Indians who were with him at Michilimackinac asked the two chiefs who were left there, how they could permit their young men to do this; that they said that Le Deuke had robbed the goods himself and desired that they (the Indians) shou'd take them as the English at Michilimackinac were all killed, other Indians wou'd come and take them, that it was well they might have them; That he did not after find any of his Goods in Possession of Le Deuke, but, that he carried on a Trade with the Indians all Winter, and to his knowledge he had no Goods before he the Deponent, was pillaged, which the other deponents affirm, nor any method, which they could see, by which they might come at goods, except by pillaging; That in September 1763, there was a letter sent up to La Bay from the Priest at Michilimackinac by one Mastoc, that there had been 400 English and the General who came with them killed at Detroit,69 this letter was directed to old Langlad, who he, the

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Deponent saw read the letter to the Indians. That about the latter end of Sept a Chief of the Soaks had brought him up [a river] called the Wisconsin & at the Renards Castle, an Indian, told him that he was come from La Bay with a letter from Goalie, the Interpreter, to one Le Beau,<sup>70</sup> telling him that there were officers from France who had come with a large Fleet commanded by the Dauphin, &c, and that the Governor of Quebec had offered these officers a Purse of Money for their

68 For early Wisconsin traders named Le Duc, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, index; and *ante*, p. 8, note 14.— Ed.

69 Possibly Mastoc is a misprint for Marcot. A Jean Baptiste Marcot was married in 1758 to a native woman at Mackinac. The priest's letter referred to the defeat of Capt. James Dalyell at Detroit; see *ante*.— Ed.

70 Jean Baptiste Lebeau was a Wisconsin trader who in 1764 married one of the Jourdain daughters; see Mackinac Register, *post*.— Ed.

267 News, that soon after the Fleet was seen, and that Quebec and Montreal would soon be taken, being no more than 500 men in Each, which news immediately spread among the Indians, who were there at the time in great numbers; that the Sauteurs, Ottawas, Renards and Puants gave a Good Deal of Credit to it having a few days before received a Belt from the Indians about Detroit to come to War against the English, but that the Soaks and the Folleavaines could not believe it; That at the Soaks Castle the Indians told him, the Deponent, the French there intended to kill him, on which they called a council and brought the French to it, and told them if they killed the Englishman every Frenchman should die with Him, this had been told him by the Indians to whom the French had discovered their intentions; the Names of the French on the above Voyage up the Wisconsin were, Martoc, Jordan & Labeau, Rivier, St. Pier, Mon. Fontasie, Havness, Lafortain, the three first discovering all the marks of bad subjects and disaffection to the English in their whole behaviour; That he hear'd St. Pier say that if he had wrote such a letter as the Interpreter wrote to Labeau, he wo'd expect to be hanged if ever he went

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among the English; That St. Pier, Rivier, and Fontasie<sup>71</sup> did all they could to prevent the Indians from believing the letter above, that in the opening of the Mississippi River his Chief asked the Deponant if these Lands did belong to the English; he said they did, but La Beau immediately contradicted him and said it was a Lye, and that all was false that the English officers had told him, the Chief, in saying it was Peace between the English & French. There was no such thing, and repeated the contents of Goalie's Letter to the Indians, That when they had come down the Mississippi River about ten days the Indians told

<sup>71</sup> A trader named St. Pierre was an early settler at Milwaukee; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, pp. 210, 211; also tradition in Parkman Club Papers (Milwaukee 1896), i, p. 81, note.

Pierre and Julien la Rivière were early settlers of Prairie du Chien.

François Maurice de la Fantaisie was a native of Montreal, being married at Mackinac; see Register, *post.*— Ed.

268 him that St. Pier and the other French there had sent a Petition to the Commandant of the Illinois, the Contents of wh. he cou'd not justly tell, but he was informed it began in acquainting them, they had killed the English at Michilimackinac and had not forgot their old Fathers, that one Bonfoi was bearer of said Petition the Commdt had ordered them to leave off, & not to kill any English, that in killing them they killed the French, they being one people.<sup>72</sup> That the Puants, Reynards & Soaks wrote down this Spring with the other Nations to Montreal for goods but were prevented by one Le Vorn who came from the Illinois, and told them if they went down the English would hang them, and cut off their heads; That they had Plenty of Goods at the Illinois wh. he would bring them; That he and other Frenchmen went off to Illinois for said Goods wh. hindered said Indians from bringing down Their Peltry. The Goalie had told the Indians that the Genl had sd. he cou'd hang Capt. Ethrington, if he had a mind, but he would send him to His Majesty.

<sup>72</sup> See letter of the French commandant, *ante.*— Ed.



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James Grant ,

George McDougal ,

Rich'd Williams .

### **1764: WISCONSIN INDIAN PRAISED**

[Certificate granted Aug. 1, 1764, to a Menominee Indian. Original in Wisconsin Historical Library.]

[Seal of Wax] By the Honorable Sir William Johnson Baronet, His Majestys sole agent and superintendant of the affairs of the Northern Indians of North America, Colonel of the six United Nations their allies and dependants &c., &c., &c.

To OGemawnee a Chief of the Menominys Nation:

Whereas I have received from the officers who commanded

JOHNSON'S CERTIFICATE TO OGEMAWNEE Dated, Niagara, August 1, 1764. Reduced facsimile of original

269 the Out posts as well as from other persons an account of your good behaviour last year in protecting the Officers, Soldiers, &c., of the Garrison of La Bay, and in escorting them down to Montreal as also the Effects of the Traders to a large amount, and you having likewise entered into the strongest Engagement of Friendship for the English before me at this place, I do therefore give you This Testimony of my Esteem for your Services and Good behaviour.<sup>73</sup>

<sup>73</sup> This document was for many years treasured in the family of this Menominee chief, being handed down from father to son, until it was presented in token of esteem, to an

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American officer visiting the tribe. It is now in possession of the Wisconsin Historical Society; see accompanying reproduction.— Ed.

Given under my hand & Seal at Arms at Niagara the first day of August, 1764.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>74</sup> For an account of the conference of Sir William Johnson at Niagaram see *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, vii, pp. 648–658. Setting out from Johnson Hall early in June, he reached the fort at Niagara July 8, at the same time that Col. John Bradstreet arrived with his large detachment intended for the relief of Detroit. By the twenty-fifth of the month deputies from nearly all the Western tribes had appeared. The Seneca held back, but at last came in and conferences and negotiations were continued for nearly a month. The concourse of tribesmen was greater than had before been seen at a council with the English, over two thousand being in attendance. The Ottawa of Detroit, the Huron of Sandusky, and the Delawares and Shawnee of the Ohio failed to come. Treaties were made with the Huron from Detroit, and the Seneca. The other tribes protested that they had not participated in the attacks on the English. All of the chiefs bringing credentials of good conduct from the English officers were rewarded, and many certificates similar to the above were presented to those entitled thereto.— Ed.

Wm. Johnson .

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### 1764: RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF MACKINAC

[Summary of documents on the return of an English garrison to Mackinac.]

[One of the results of the treaty and conference at Niagara, in the summer of 1764, was the consent of the Indians to the re-establishment of an English garrison at Michilimackinac. Thereupon Col. John Bradstreet,<sup>75</sup> in command of an army of over two thousand men, destined for the relief of Detroit, and the punishment of the hostile Indians, was ordered to send a party of regulars to retake Fort Mackinac. After being deceived

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by the astute tribesmen into signing with them a fallacious peace, Bradstreet reached Detroit August 27, and at once set his engineers to work to prepare boats and provisions for the garrison at Mackinac.<sup>76</sup> He also had enlisted two companies of French habitants to accompany the regulars thither and aid in pacifying the Indians and establishing the new garrison.<sup>77</sup> September 1, the expedition left Detroit under command of Capt. William Howard of the 17th infantry,<sup>78</sup> with a detachment composed of two companies of regulars and an artillery force. With them was the trader Alexander

75 Col. John Bradstreet, who was of English birth but had become a colonist by adoption, distinguished himself at the siege of Louisburg in 1745. In the French and Indian War he was given command of a force of voyageurs, and with their aid defended Oswego and captured Fort Frontenac (1758). Promoted to a colonelcy in 1762, he was sent to punish the Western Indians, which duty he performed somewhat inefficiently. In 1772 he became major-general, but died at Detroit two years later.— Ed.

76 See the journal of Capt. John Montresor (1764) in New York Historical Society *Collections*, 1881, pp. 285, 287.— Ed.

77 For the result of this, see *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, pp. 133, 134.— Ed.

78 Capt. William Howard was commissioned to that rank in 1756, and three years later was serving under Amherst on the Lake George frontier. He remained in command at Mackinac until 1766, when he was superseded by Robert Rogers, of ranger fame. Howard had left the army by 1768.— Ed.

271 Henry. No Indians were encountered en route, the report of the advance of the British army having driven them from the lake. The schooner "Gladwin" was sent after them, on the ninth, with provisions and equipment.<sup>79</sup> The militia returned to Detroit on October 27th.]

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79 This is thought to have been the first schooner to ply between Detroit and Mackinac.—Ed.

[Letter from Colonel Bradstreet to Lieutenant Sinclair,<sup>80</sup> dated Sept. 12, 1764; reprinted from *Diary of the Siege of Detroit*, p. 285.]

80 There was in the army more than one lieutenant of this name. Possibly it was Lieut. Patrick Sinclair, later governor of Mackinac, for whom see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, p. 141.—Ed.

Detroit, 12th Sept. 1764.

Sir —You are hereby requir'd and directed the Beginning of May next to receive on board the Schooner Gladwin a Load of Provisions for the Garrison at Michilimicanack & with it proceed to that Place, and as soon as you have delivered it you are to sail for the Bottom of the Bay where we had a Fort, & from thence round the Lake Michigan steering up the River St. Josephs as far as you can, making throughout the whole Voyage such Remarks & Observations as the Importance of the Service you are ordered on requires for the future Navigation of those Lakes, observing the same on Lake Huron, the whole of which you will report in Writing to Lt. Col. Campbell<sup>81</sup> or Officer commanding here on your Return and receive from him Directions for your further Conduct.

81 Col. John Campbell of the 17th infantry was commanding officer at Detroit from August, 1764 to August, 1766. In 1773 he was transferred to the 57th as commander, and in that capacity served through the American Revolution, surrendering to Washington at Yorktown. He was promoted through the various grades, reaching that of general in 1797, and died at his seat in Scotland, Sept. 28, 1806.—Ed.

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As you will doubtless see many Savages before you return you will inform them, that the Reason of your sailing round 272 those Lakes is to find out if it is practicable for Vessels agreeable to my Promise to them at Neagara.

I am etc. J.B.

### 1764: ASPECT OF DETROIT

[Description of Detroit by Lieut. Thomas Mante;<sup>82</sup> reprinted from his *History of the Late War in North America* (London, 1772), pp. 524, 525.]

<sup>82</sup> Lieut. Thomas Mante entered the 77th infantry in 1762. He acted as assistant engineer at the siege of Havana, and as major of brigade on Bradstreet's expedition. The book here referred to has unquestioned value for the French and Indian War. Mante was the author, also, of several military works.— Ed.

The business with the Indians being thus happily finished, and peace thereby restored to the English settlements, Colonel Bradstreet began to prepare for his return to Sandusky, to meet the Shawanese and the Delawars, and put the finishing hand to the treaty which he had entered upon with the deputies of these nations on the Lake-Erie, and fixed the 24th of September for his departure: But he first gave such orders for the security and tranquillity of the inhabitants, and the advancement of agriculture and trade, as could not fail, in time, to render this infant colony both happy in itself, and useful to the mother-country. To be convinced of this, we need only take a transient view of this delightful spot, a description of which, we hope, may be agreeable as, on account of its remoteness, the ideas most people entertain of this country, are very much circumscribed. The country called Detroit, is that washed by the strait which forms the communication between the Lakes St. Clair and Erie. The improvements on the eastern banks of this strait, extend north and south, about nine miles: and those on the western banks, about seven. In purity and wholesomeness of air, and richness of soil, it may be said 273 to equal, if not excel

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any, even the best parts of America. Every European grain flourishes here in the utmost perfection; and hemp and flax, in particular, might be raised to the greatest advantage. The woods are everywhere filled with vines of spontaneous growth; and their grape yields a juice equal in flavour to the most excellent burgundy. The country around it appears like one great park stocked with buffaloes, deer, pheasants, wild turkies, and partridges. Domestic animals and fowls are here in the utmost perfection. Aquatic birds of every species are in the greatest plenty, and of the highest flavour; and the rivers afford an astonishing variety of the most delicious fish. The soil and climate are so favourable to vegetation, that every vegetable is to be procured with the smallest trouble. In short, a man that can shoot and fish, and understands the art of making wine, may enjoy every luxury of the most sumptuous table, at the sole expence of his own labour. The inhabitants of Detroit are not numerous; and, notwithstanding the allurements which plenty holds forth to people to settle here, the want of a sufficient force to secure them against the caprice of the neighboring Indians, and of authority to secure good order amongst themselves, has hitherto deterred such as have any settlements elsewhere, from endeavouring to partake of the abundant produce of nature, at the expence of the property they already enjoy, and perhaps their lives. But should Detroit be ever formed into a regular government, we will venture to prophecy, that it will greatly extend itself; and from the plenty, variety, and richness of its produce, prove a beneficial settlement to the mother-country. 18

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### **1765: FRENCH LEASE OF LA BAYE**

[Letter from the French minister to Madame de Rigaud. MS. in Archives Coloniales, Paris; pressmark, "Amérique, série B., vol. 122, folio 196."]

Versailles , June 19 1765

*To Madame de Rigaud*

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I have the honor to send you, Madame, as requested by you, a collated copy of the concession of the post of la Baye in Canada, granted you in 1759 for your life and for that of Monsieur do Rigaud, by the governor and intendant of that colony in consequence of orders to that effect received by them from the King.

[Extract from a letter from Sir William Johnson to the Lords of Trade, dated Johnson Hall, March 22, 1766. Reprinted from *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, vii, pp. 817, 818.]

I have been applyed to by the Merchants of Canada concerning a purchase lately made by M<sup>r</sup> Wm. Grant from M<sup>rs</sup> Rigaud and Madame de Vaudreuille of the Fort at La Baye de Puans in Lake Michigan with an extensive territory over which he is to have exclusive right of trade with liberty to erect houses and make establishments thereon, to the infinite loss and detriment of the trading people and likewise to the General dissatisfaction of the Indians who cannot fail to be greatly alarmed at such an Establishment beyond our Provincial Limits.

This grant to M<sup>r</sup> Rigand & his Lady was from the Marquis de Vaudreuille in October 1759, and confirmed by the King of France in Jan y 1760, at a very critical period when *Quebec* was ours and *Montreal* only wanting to complete the conquest of Canada, and therefore evidently intended as a perquisite well knowing some of our unwary people might be drawn in to give a valuable consideration for it, as it would be highly impolitic for them to make such a grant or permit such Settlements if they continued Masters of [the] Country since it 275 would alienate the affections of the Indians, and of [from] Friends make them bitter Enemys, which they will doubtless prove to us if the Grant is attempted to be enforced.

### 1765: BRITISH IN THE ILLINOIS

[Summary of documents on affairs in the Illinois, and the British occupation.]

[Sir William Johnson having conciliated the northern tribesmen at the treaty of [Niagara in 1764, and Col. Henry Bouquet having secured peace with the Delawares and Shawnee of the Ohio, it was determined to send George Croghan, deputy Indian agent, to attempt a peace with the tribes of the Wabash and Illinois, who were still under Pontiac's influence, and had deceived Bradstreet with pretended overtures for pardon. Croghan arrived at Port Pitt early in the spring of 1765, but was detained until May 15 by important conferences with the tribesmen. Meanwhile, Lieut. Alexander Fraser had gone in advance, with only three companions. Although reaching Kaskaskia in safety, he was there in such danger that his life was spared only by Pontiac's interference, and he escaped to Mobile in disguise.<sup>83</sup> Croghan was captured below the Wabash, and carried prisoner to Ouiatanon, where he succeeded in reconciling the Kickapoo, Mascoutin, and Miami, and procuring his liberty. On the way to the Illinois he encountered Pontiac, with whom he made a definitive treaty of peace, and therefore turned back to Detroit, where in councils from August 17–September 25,

<sup>83</sup> Lieut. Alexander Fraser, formerly of the 78th infantry, was detailed to accompany Croghan, because of his knowledge of the French language. He rashly urged to be allowed to go in advance. Concerning his adventure, see his letter of May 20, from Kaskaskia, in *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, x, pp. 216–218.— Ed.

<sup>276</sup> he succeeded in bringing all the tribesmen to submit to English sovereignty.<sup>84</sup>

<sup>84</sup> See “Croghan's Journal” in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, i, pp. 126–173.— Ed.

Meanwhile, word having been sent to Fort Pitt, Capt. Thomas Stirling,<sup>85</sup> with a company of the 42nd infantry, passed down the Ohio. On his arrival at Fort Chartres, the French flag was lowered and the English ensign raised (October 10, 1765).<sup>86</sup> Two months later Maj. Robert Farmer, ascending the Mississippi from Mobile with a detachment of the 34th foot, relieved Captain Stirling, and became commandant of the Illinois.]<sup>87</sup>



85 Sir Thomas Stirling, Bart., was in 1757 commissioned captain of the 42nd (or Royal Highland) regiment. After serving under Abercrombie and Amherst (1758–60), the regiment was ordered to the West Indies, where Stirling was wounded. Returning to North America, they were ordered out with Bouquet, fought at Bushy Run, and having passed the winter at Fort Pitt, aided in the Ohio campaign of 1764. Stirling having taken possession of the Illinois, rejoined his regiment at Philadelphia after ten months' absence, and was publicly thanked for his services by the commander-in-chief. Stationed in Ireland (1767–76), Stirling became successively major and lieutenant-colonel of the regiment, and was ordered to America for service against “the colonists. He was in the battle of Long Island (1776) and those of Brandywine and Germantown (1777); was brigadier-general under Clinton in the Charleston campaign (1780), and surrendered at Yorktown (1781). The following year he was transferred to the colonelcy of the 71st Highlanders. Later he was promoted to be general, and died in 1808.— Ed.

86 For the minutes of taking possession of the Illinois, see *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, x. pp. 1161–1163.— Ed.

87 Maj. Robert Farmer received his commission in the 34th foot, June 2, 1761. He was sent to take over West Florida from the French, and in October, 1763, received the surrender of Mobile. In 1765 he was ordered to the Illinois, where he arrived after a voyage of five months, and took over the command (Dec. 4. 1765) from Captain Stirling. Farmer was accompanied by Lieut. Philip Pittman, who has given us the earliest English account of the *Mississippi Settlements* (London, 1770), Farmer remained at the Illinois until 1767, when he returned to Mobile to answer charges against him. Vindicated by a court-martial (1768), he retired from the army and settled on a plantation on the Tensas, where he died in 1778.— Ed.

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### 1765–66: TRADER IN NORTHERN WISCONSIN

[Summary of Alexander Henry, *Travels and Adventures* , pp. 183–197.]

[Exclusive trade for the Lake Superior region was in the summer of 1765 accorded by the commandant of Mackinac to Alexander Henry,<sup>88</sup> who had returned with the former from Detroit. Accordingly this trader equipped himself with four canoes laden with goods, engaged twelve voyageurs, and on July 14 left that post for Sault Ste. Marie. There he took into partnership Jean Baptiste Cadotte, and setting forth upon Lake Superior arrived at Ontonagon River on August 19. He found there an Indian village, and purchased sturgeon for provisions. He likewise noted the masses of copper ore in the vicinity. Thence he passed to Iron River and in due time arrived at Chagouemig (Chequamegon) where he intended to winter. At this locality there was a large Chippewa village, whose people were nearly starving and naked, for the lack of traders to supply their needs. Henry was obliged to grant them the usual credit for goods, and the external appearance of these aborigines was soon transformed. He soon

<sup>88</sup> Alexander Henry Sr. was a native of New Jersey (1739). In 1760 he became attached to Amherst's army, and after the capture of Montreal secured the second fur-trading permit for Mackinac, where he arrived in the autumn of 1761, not long before the installment of the English garrison. In 1763 he narrowly escaped the massacre, and after passing the winter at Sault Ste. Marie accompanied the Indians to the treaty at Niagara (1764), going back to Detroit with Bradstreet's army. Thence he returned with the English troops to Mackinac, and the following summer undertook a fur-trade adventure in Wisconsin. This not proving very profitable, Henry spent the succeeding years on the northern shores of Lake Superior, forming (1770) a company for working the mines of the great lake. From 1775–76 he was in the far Northwest, returning to Montreal (1776) for the first time since his departure in 1761. Thenceforth he resided in that city until his death in May, 1824. For a more extended notice see James Bain (ed.), *Henry's Travels and Adventures*, editor's preface.— Ed.

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277 erected a log house for winter quarters, and passed the cold months quietly, his chief food supply being fish, and his one amusement spearing them through the ice. The bay was frozen over by December 15, and not freed from ice until the twentieth of April. The principal excitement of the winter was the turbulent behavior of a band of Indians returning from their hunt. Having secured rum, they had a drunken frolic, in which a general pillage was threatened. Henry's firm attitude abashed the revellers, and he afterwards buried his entire store of liquor. A characteristic incident was a bear-hunt, followed by an eat-all feast that was in the nature of a religious ceremony. May 15, the chief body of Indians returned to this their metropolis, bringing trophies of their hunting and of a war expedition they had undertaken against the Sioux. After purchasing their furs, Henry returned to Mackinac, pausing en route to examine more carefully the copper deposits on the Ontonagon.]

### 1766: ROGERS TO LANGLADE

[Letter from Maj. Robert Rogers to Langlade. Original MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library.]

Michilimakana Oct r 15 th 1766

Sir —This Letter will be delivered to you by Ruenabemonse (?) Chief of the Ottawas, and if it can be conveniently be done I should be exceeding glad you would send the enclosed Letter to Capt. n Tute by some Indian that may be going to the Mississipi.<sup>89</sup>

<sup>89</sup> Capt. James Tute was one of the officers of the rangers under Rogers, and was captured while on a scout from Fort Edward in 1760. He was one of Rogers's agents in his conspiracy, and is credited with carrying matters with a high hand on the Mississippi, giving gorgets to the Indians inscribed with fleurs-de-lis, and making numerous chiefs—letter in Johnson MSS., xv. p. 125. in New York State Library, furnished by the courtesy of A. J. F. van Laer, archivist. See reference to Tute in *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, x, p. 229; *Wis Hist. Colls.*, xii, p. 33, where the name is spelled "Stoote;" as likewise in *N.Y. Colon*,

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*Docs.*, vii, p. 992; and Rogers's *Journals*, p. 239 (misspelled Tate). His conduct is said to have discredited the English traders at Prairie du Chien.— Ed.

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I have nothing materially New at this Place. The Indians are mostly gone hunting. Some few of the Missasaugas are here who have just returned from a War expedition to the Westward, but without Success.

I am Sir your most Humble Servant Rob t . Rogers .90

90 For brief sketch of Maj. Robert Rogers see *ante*, p. 223, note 89. Rogers arrived at Mackinac late in August, 1766, upon an appointment as its commandant, secured in England. He was little approved by his American superiors, but at once conciliated the traders, and secured a large stock of goods to be exchanged on his own account. He had a number of agents throughout the Western country. Just what his plans may have been, it is not now possible to say. He was in correspondence with one Capt. Joseph Hopkins, in French employ, and seems to have had some idea of delivering over his post to French or Spanish intriguants. His actions being reported to the authorities by one of his tools, Nathaniel Potter, and by Lieut. Benjamin Roberts, commissary of Indian affairs at the post, with both of whom he had quarrelled, General Gage sent orders to Capt. Frederick Spiesmacher, second in command, to supersede Rogers and place him under arrest. These orders reached Mackinac after the winter season had set in. Rogers was arrested; but in the absence of conveyance to the lower country, he was kept at the post. In January he entered into a desperate plot to gain his freedom and retake his own post; further, with the aid of the Indians, he thought to capture Detroit and Illinois, and plunder all the English traders. A French interpreter, Joseph Ainse, revealed this conspiracy to Spiesmacher, who had Rogers and his servant placed in irons, and sent to Montreal, where they arrived in June, 1768. In the summer of that year, a court-martial acquitted Rogers of the charge of treason, largely for lack of evidence. For documents bearing on this curious affair, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, pp. 27–37; *N. Y. Colon Docs.*, vii, pp. 988–994, 997–1002; Rogers's

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*Journals*, Appendix C.; *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, x, pp. 224–233; and *Documentary Hist. of N.Y.*, ii, pp. 500–515.

*To Lieutenant Langlead at La Baye* .91

91 The title of lieutenant, here given to Langlade, may have indicated such rank in the British Indian service; but nothing has as yet been found in contemporary documents to show that he had at this time entered the English service. Possibly the title is used by courtesy, because of his rank in the French Canadian army.— Ed.

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### 1766–67: TRAVELS IN WISCONSIN

[Summary of the journey of Jonathan Carver in Wisconsin, from *Travels through the Interior Parts of North America in the years 1766, 1767 and 1768* (London, 1778)<sup>92</sup> , pp. 17–180.]

92 Few books of travel have had a more astonishing popularity than this. In his “Jonathan Carver,” in *Parkman Club Papers* (Milwaukee, 1896), John G. Gregory enumerates twenty-one editions, with translations into German, French, and Dutch. The first (or 1778) edition, and that of 1781, with additional notes on the author, are bibliographical rarities. The popularity of the work really rested upon a slender basis of value. Travellers following in his footsteps within the region described by Carver, noted his faults and his errors (for instance, see Peter Pond's journal, *post*). Indeed, the latter portion of the work, describing Indian customs and manners, has clearly been proven to be but a medley of selections from the writings of Lahontan, Hennepin, Charlevoix, and Adair—see E. G. Bourne, “The Travels of Jonathan Carver,” in *American Historical Review*, xi, pp. 287–302. Dr. Bourne concludes that Carver, who was an ignorant man, quite incapable of writing such a book, fell into the hands of booksellers in London, and from his journals (possibly something in form like those of his fellow-colonist, Peter Pond, *post*) some literary hack drew up the *Travels* in the form in which we have them. Carver's book is really of comparatively little

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worth, save where corroborated by other and more reliable testimony. But as the work has so long been famous, is so frequently alluded to by Western writers, and is the first record we possess of an English traveller in these regions, we publish a summary; this should, however, be carefully compared with Pond's account of a journey over much the same path, seven years later.— Ed.

[Jonathan Carver<sup>93</sup> left Boston in June, 1766. Going westward via Albany and Niagara, he made his way to Michilimackinac, which he reached some time in August, soon after

<sup>93</sup> Of material for a biography of Jonathan Carver, but little exists that may be counted trustworthy. See article by Professor Bourne, cited in preceding note. The traveller was apparently born in Connecticut, and married there in 1746—his birth could hardly have been at the accepted date (1732). Instead of being as he claims, educated for a physician, he appears in fact to have been a shoemaker, and to have joined a Massachusetts company of rangers as a private. Even his presence at the siege of Fort William Henry, which has been graphically described under his name, must be doubted. No contemporary evidence has yet been produced to show that he was ever a captain, or held any official rank in the French and Indian War. His visit to the West (1766–68) is quite probable, but the motive therefor does not appear. Unless he was a trader, which he disclaims, he must have been an agent of Rogers, and there is some evidence inclining one to that view. See references cited in note 89 *ante*. He no doubt joined Rogers in London after the latter's acquittal. Possibly encouraged by Rogers's previous success as a publisher, Carver had his own notes of travel worked up into a book, as described in the preceding note. That his services in geographical exploration were recognized to the extent of a gratuity of thirteen hundred pounds (see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vi, p. 251), is extremely improbable; if so, why did he die “absolutely and strictly starved” in January, 1780 ? Carver was an adventurer of a type frequently found on the frontier; and has long enjoyed unearned literary and historical fame.— Ed.

281 the arrival of the new commandant Maj. Robert Rogers. The latter, who had known Carver in the [French and Indian War, let him have some trading goods, and in company

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with a party of other traders he left the fort on September 3, arriving on the 18th at Fort La Baye. This building was much decayed, not having been garrisoned since Gorrell's departure three years previous. A few families were living in the fort, on the west side of the Fox, while on the east side were some considerable farms.

September 20, the trading cortege advanced up the Fox, arriving at the Winnebago town on Doty's Island five days later. Here a "queen," instead of a sachem, presided over the tribe—an ancient woman, small in stature and undistinguished in dress.<sup>94</sup> Carver thought the Winnebago had migrated from New Mexico. They spoke a harsh, guttural jargon. Thence the travellers proceeded along Winnebago Lake, and twelve miles from the island at the site of the modern Oshkosh, entered the upper Fox and followed its windings

94 For this chieftess see note in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vi, p. 224.— Ed.

282 to the Fox-Wisconsin carrying-place (the Portage of today), passing a smaller Winnebago village en route. The valley of the Fox, declares Carver, was the former home of the Outagami and Sauk.

The carrying-place was about a mile and three-quarters in length, and there resided Pinnisance who told our traveller a remarkable story of an Indian who possessed a rattlesnake that he had tamed and worshipped.<sup>95</sup> Carver noted the wild rice spreads and the abundance of wild fowl on the upper Fox, and mentions the fertility and beauty of the country.

95 For the origin of this story, and the imposition upon Carver therewith, see Pond's *Journal*, *post*. Pond likewise gives a short biographical sketch of this early inhabitant of the portage, whom he calls "Old Pinnashon." Gorrell gave him a good character in 1763—*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, i, pp. 37, 41; and Grignon ( *Id.*, iii, pp. 261–263) relates some of his later adventures.— Ed.

Embarking on the Wisconsin (October 8), they arrived the next day at the great town of the Sank, a large, well-built village of ninety houses consisting of plank with bark

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covering.<sup>96</sup> About three hundred warriors comprised their war-parties, that frequently made incursions among the Illinois and Pawnee. Carver mentions “mountains” some fifteen miles southward, where lead ore is found—the Blue Mounds and similar lead-bearing hills. The next day they reached the first town of the Outagamie,<sup>97</sup> which was nearly deserted because of the prevalence of an epidemic.

<sup>96</sup> This was the village near the modern site of Prairie du Sac. This large town, whose fine appearance is described by both Carver and Pond, was probably built in the decade 1740–50; see *Wis. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1907, p. 181. It continued to be occupied until the close of the Revolution, when it was abandoned from fear of the Chippewa, and the inhabitants removed to the Mississippi; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, p. 80.— Ed.

<sup>97</sup> The Outagami (Fox) village was probably near Muscoda; see *Id.*, vi, p. 225, and the location given in Pond's journal, *post.*— Ed.

About five miles above the mouth of the Wisconsin, the ruins of another large town were seen; it had been deserted for thirty 283 years, for superstitious reasons. The native inhabitants had then built a town on the Mississippi at La Prairies les Chiens (or Dog Plains), where there were now three hundred families.<sup>98</sup> Horses were to be seen here. The village was the site of a great mart, it being a neutral trading ground, even for tribes elsewhere at war.

<sup>98</sup> There appears to have been a Fox Indian, known to the French as “Le Chien” (Dog), from whom this village took its name. Little, however, is known of this chieftain, and that is traditionary. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ix, pp. 283, 293.— Ed.

At Yellow River, the traders took up winter quarters, and Carver with two servants began ascending the Mississippi in a small canoe. November 1, he entered Lake Pepin and remarked the ruins of a French factory where Captain St. Pierre formerly resided.<sup>99</sup> In this neighborhood he noted and described some Indian mounds.



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99 Yellow River is a small stream in Allamakee County, Iowa, emptying into the Mississippi about two miles above Prairie du Chien.

For this Sioux nest see ante. p. 33, note 49. St. Pierre was commandant here, 1734–37; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, pp. 267–274. For its location, see *Id.*, x, pp. 371, 372. It would seem probable, from traditional evidence, that Marin's fort (1750–56) was on the east bank of Lake Pepin; *Id.*, ix, p. 286.— Ed.

Near the St. Croix, Carver first met the Sioux, whom he calls Naudowessie Indians, and mediated between them and a band of hostile Chippewa.<sup>1</sup> Thirty miles below the falls of St. Anthony he passed the cave later given his name. At St. Pierre (or Wadapawmenesotor) River<sup>2</sup> he left his canoe, because of ice, and travelled on foot to the falls, where he was impressed with the devotions of a Winnebago “prince.” Continuing

<sup>1</sup> Carver's connection with the peace claimed to have been arranged between the Sioux and Chippewa, would seem to indicate that he may have been concerned in Rogers's plot. Sir William Johnson, in particular, animadverts against the great expense incurred in adjusting this peace and its temporary character; consult, *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, vii, pp. 966, 969, 989, viii, p. 94; and Rogers's *Journals*, pp. 222. 227.— Ed.

<sup>2</sup> For an early expedition to St. Peter's River, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, pp. 286–300.— Ed.

284 north as far as the St. Francis, passing Rum River on the way, he reached on November 25, the point where he had left his canoe. Thence he mounted the St. Pierre for about two hundred miles<sup>3</sup> and dwelt seven months among the Naudowessie, where he was occupied with geographical inquiries. Returning in April, accompanied by a large delegation of tribesmen whom he had persuaded to visit Mackinac, they held on May 1, a council in the cave before noted, in which complimentary speeches were exchanged.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> But see Pond's declaration as to the location of Carver's hut, about fourteen miles up St. Peter's River, and that this was the extent of his travels.— Ed.

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4 It was on this occasion, as later claimed, that the celebrated “Carver's Grant” was made. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vi, pp. 238–270.— Ed.

Finding no trading goods at St. Anthony Falls, as had been promised him by the governor of Mackinac, Carver determined to return to La Prairies les Chien and secure some from the traders there. En route he met a Chippewa band headed by the Grand Sauter<sup>5</sup> who treated the Englishman with disdain, but offered him no violence. Having at last secured a stock of goods, our traveller returned to Chippewa River engaged an Indian pilot, and mounted the eastern branch to the falls. He there noted the great war road of the Sioux and Chippewa, and observed a tract of timber levelled by a hurricane. At the head of Chippewa River was a town of that tribe, with a hundred stout, fine young warriors. Their customs, however, were very filthy.<sup>6</sup>

5 For the Grand Sauter (whose Indian name was Minavavana), chief of the Mackinac Island band of Chippewa, see *Henry's Travels*, index.— Ed.

6 This Chippewa town cannot definitely be located, but was near Lac Court Oreilles, still the habitat of the tribe. According to tradition, as given in *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, v, the Chippewa, moved into this region in the latter years of the French regime.— Ed.

In July Carver left this town, crossing to a head branch of the St. Croix, on which he saw mines of virgin copper. Thence carrying again, he descended to Lake Superior by a river that 285 he named Goddard's<sup>7</sup> arriving at the close of July in West Bay, whence he coasted to Grand Portage, on the northwest shore of the lake. This northwest Wisconsin region was called by the Indians Moschettoe [mosquito] country, because of the abundance of those insects.

7 James Stanley Goddard was one of the earliest traders from Montreal to reach the upper country. By the summer of 1761 he was at Mackinac, and accompanied Lieutenant Gottell to Green Bay, whence he was driven by the disturbance of 1763. The re-establishment

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of British authority found him again in the Northwest, where for many years he was a prominent merchant. About 1777 he was commissioned general storekeeper for the government, at Montreal, and was in that position as late as 1795. The river to which Carver gave his name was probably the Bois Brulé of Douglas County, Wis. This stream had been part of the portage route between the Mississippi and Lake Superior since Duluth's time, who used it as early as 1680. Goddard was one of Rogers's agents. of whom it was written "They have found Out the River that Runs from Lake Superior to the Mississippi"—Johnson MSS., as cited in note 89 *ante*.— Ed.

At Grand Portage he met Assinipoil and Killistinoe Indians, who gave him information of the far Northwest which he details at some length. Returning by the northern shore of Lake Superior the traveller arrived at Cadotte's fort at Sault Ste. Marie, whence he leisurely returned to Michillimackinac, reaching there the beginning of November after fourteen months' absence. The winter having set in, Carver tarried at this post in good company<sup>8</sup> until the following June, when he left for Detroit, thence departing for Boston.]

<sup>8</sup> The omission, on Carver's part, of the stirring events at Mackinac in the winter of 1767–68, when Rogers was arrested, kept in irons, and the entire settlement full of excitement, would give rise to the suspicion of his desire to conceal these occurrences. He speaks merely of the tranquil pleasure of fishing, and the passing of the time in pleasant company. — Ed.

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### 1767: CERTIFICATE TO A MENOMINEE

[Testimonial of Maj. Robert Rogers to Okimasay, dated July 3, 1767. Original MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library.]

Michillimakinac , the 3rd July, 1767.

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*By Robert Rogers, Esq.r Major and Commandant of his Majesty's Garrison of Michillimakinac & its dependencies. &c &c &c*

Okimasay Folle Avoine having given to me and my Predecessors on many Occasions marks of his Attachment to the English Nation, and of his abilities in managing Affairs with regard to his Majesty among the Other Nations who are his Neighboars as well as the one he belongs to and with whom he has Credit

Therefore to make known to the English as well as the Indians how much we are satisfied with him. [MS. torn] and of his Great Service [MS. torn] with this warrant.

Recommending all the King of England's subjects who may meet with him to give him marks of their Friendship as it concerns the public tranquility in preserving the Indians Interest to his most Sacred Majesty—and order the said Okimasay to inform me of the affairs that may come to his knowledge and to give Advice to me or to the officers that may hereafter command at this post thereof, or at any time, any that may be sent amongst them, He having this day before me, entered into the strongest Engagements of [MS. torn] with his Brittish Majesty & for which I return him this Testimony of my Esteem

Rob. t Rogers

### 1767: TRADE AT LA BAYE

[Extract from a memoir submitted to the Board of Trade by Sir William Johnson. Reprinted from *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, vii, pp. 974, 975.]

But on the other side we have now no post beyond *Detroit* except *Michilimackinac*, which tho' a place of much Trade and advantagiously situated, is far from answering the conveniencies 287 of the Indians to the Westward. The Post at *La Baye* on the West side of *Lake Michigan*, the Indians have desired to be reestablished, and it is so well situated by reason of the Water communication, with very little interruption to the Mississippi, and so

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well calculated for all the Indians West of the Lake Michigan, that it deserves to be taken much notice of. At present affairs there are likely to be very troublesome on account of a claim laid to that post and a considerable district around it by a Gentleman of the name of *Grant* in virtue of a purchase, said to be made of M r *Rigaud de Vadreuille* whose title, if any he had, was of little weight, and the whole of the transaction as laid before me by the Merchants of Canada appears to have been a piece of artifice huddled up about the time of the surrender of Canada, (or rather much later,) as the Commander in Chief is of opinion some steps were ordered to be taken to render the Claim invalid, and unless it is soon done, it will greatly affect the Indian Affairs, and trade of that quarter.

\* \* \* \* \*

But all these garrisons will not be alike exposed to that dependence; La Baye the most important of any I have mentioned can receive all its supplys in the King's ships which go to *Michilimackinac* without additional expence or risque.

[Letter from Cardin to Augustin Langlade, dated Aug. 16, 1767. Translated from original MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library.<sup>9</sup>]

<sup>9</sup> This letter, found among the Langlade Papers and alluded to in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, viii, p. 220, is there misdated (1763 for 1767), and By the then Editor was considered “entirely illegible.” It is, however, here deciphered, translated, and given in proper chronological order.— Ed.

From Michillimaknac August 16, 1767.

Sir —I wish above all things monsieur that The present letter may find you well, and all your amiable family in perfect health. I am flattered to inform you that Chaboiller has placed in my hands a full authority coming from you with a memoir of the goods, but As The power of attorney is not in my name I cannot use it to the best advantage, moreover As He does not appear to desire to undertake your arrangements Therefore I Request

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you to intrust some other person therewith. I have had your house advertised for sale, but when I saw that it would not go according to my wish and that there were no buyers I thought Best to put off the sale Until I could know your Sentiments. Of all the Effects mentioned in your memoir I have found Nothing but a little [word illegible] in very Bad condition and the feather bed that Boarassa tells me belongs to you For the Rest no one knows what has become of them. You speak to me also of one to whom you have given or sold a little Stable that is very strong. It belongs to everyone here, not having been let or sold Send me word and I will put my hand Upon Everything that will bring any money

If you find me Capable of Being of Use in any Thing do not forget that you will oblige One who is with Respect Monsieur Your very humble and very obedient servant

Cardin

My wife and I embrace our mamma without forgetting Mr. and Mde. Lunglade, and all Their family. My family presents you with their respects. I have just Received a small feather bed from Bourassa that I will Keep until word from you.

*Monsieur Langlade the Elder at la Baye .*

### **1768: WESTERN FUR-TRADE**

[Letter from Sir Guy Carleton<sup>10</sup> to Lord Shelburne, dated March 2, 1768. Reprinted from *Canadian Archives* . 1887, pp. clxx, clxxi.]

<sup>10</sup> Guy Carleton (1724–1808) began his career as a soldier, coming to Canada with Wolfe. Appointed governor of the colony (1766), he retained that position until 1778. returning with the title of Lord Dorchester, to be governor from 1786 to 1796.— Ed.

Quebec , 2nd March, 1768.

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My Lord —I have received your Lordship's letter of the 14th November, and one since, wrote from the Office by your 289 directions, dated the 8th of October last; The Drawing hereto annexed<sup>11</sup> is taken from the different maps and the best memoirs and relations I have hitherto been able to procure; 'tis intended chiefly to show the Western Posts which the French formerly occupied, and how far they extend beyond Michilimackinac, this end I believe it answers tolerably well, the' their exact Positions on the Globe must be erroneous, as I have not met with any of those Gentlemen, who understand the use of any Mathematical Instrument, but they all agree that Pascoyat<sup>12</sup> is two and a half or three months journey beyond Michilimackinac, and reckon the distance about nine hundred leagues, probably this is far beyond the true distance, as they follow the serpentine course of Lakes and River. The River on which Pascoyat stands, is said to be five hundred leagues long, a Fort was erected one hundred leagues beyond Pascoyat, but I have not Information enough, to put either the Fort or the full extent of the River on the Map.

11 The drawing was not with the letter.— *Note in Original.*

12 For this post see *ante*. p. 186, note 35.— Ed.

The annexed return of the French Posts, of the Troops for the Protection of Trade, with the number of canoes sent up in the year 1754, shews in some measure the Extent of the Trade, and the System pursued by the French Government in Indian affairs; they did not depend on the Number of Troops, but on the Discretion of their Officers, who learned the language of the Natives, acted as Magistrates, compelled the Traders to deal equitably, and distributed the King's Presents; by this conduct they avoided giving jealousy, and gained the affections of an ignorant, credulous, and brave People, whose ruling Passions are Independence, Gratitude and Revenge, with an unconquerable Love of strong Drink, which must prove destructive to them, and the Fur Trade, if permitted to be sent among them; thus managing them by address, where force could not 19 290 avail, they reconciled

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them to their troops, and by Degrees strengthened the Posts at Niagara, Detroit and Michillimackinac without giving offence.

The country was divided into certain Districts and the only Restraints laid on Traders were, first, not to go beyond the Bounds of that District they obtained Passes for, and secondly, not to carry more Spirituous Liquors than was necessary for their own use, nor sell any of that to the Indians; the King's Posts, or rather the Intendant's, were the only ones excepted from this general Rule.

Under these Regulations the canoes went first to the Post of the District, from whence they had full liberty to go among the Indians, and accompany them to their hunting grounds; they likewise called on their return; if any were ill-treated they complained to the Commandant, who assembled the Chiefs, and procured redress. The Savages also made their complaints, and obtained immediate satisfaction—an exact report of all which was sent to the Governor. This Return may be depended upon for so much as it contains, but as the King of France was greatly concerned in all this Trade, a Corrupt Administration did not think it their Interest, that all these Matters should appear in a full, clear and lasting Manner.

Your Lordship will be pleased to observe that the great Inletts, to the North-East from the Mississippi, are by the Ohio, and from thence up the Ouabach, which leads towards the Sources of the River Miamis and Lake Erie; by the Illinois, that leads to Fort St. Joseph, and Lake Michigan; and the Ouisconsing, that leads to Fox River and Bay des Puans; besides these different streams that into the Missisipi carry them towards Lake Superior and the Western Lakes.

The French or Spaniards have a settlement two hundred and fifty Leagues above New Orleans at Arkonka [Arkansas], which serves for a deposit. and three, opposite to Fort Chartres, formed since the Conquest;<sup>13</sup> from these Magazines they

<sup>13</sup> Ste. Geneviève, St. Louis, and St. Charles, for which see succeeding documents.— Ed.



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291 are enabled with Ease to transport their Merchandise into the interior Parts of the King's Territory to the North of the Mississippi, and to the Western Lakes; while even the extra Provincial Canadians, in the neighbourhood of our Posts, particularly at Detroit, and those scattered about the Country, rather buy the Goods that come from New Orleans, tho' at a higher Price, than submit to the great Restraints on Trade at our Posts.

I shall easily find in the Troops here many Officers and Men very ready to undertake to explore any Part of this Continent, who require no other encouragement than to be told such service will be acceptable to the King, and if properly executed will recommend them to his Favour; but as they are unacquainted with the Country, the Indian Language and Manners, 'tis necessary to join with them some Canadians, to serve as Guides and Interpreters. The Gentlemen here are mostly poor and have families, in Order to induce them to attach themselves thoroughly to the King's interests 'tis necessary they should be assured of their being taken into His Service for Life, and in case they perish on these Expeditions, that their Widows will enjoy their Pay, to support; and educate their Children.

Should His Majesty think proper to allow the Traders to go up to the Western Lakes, as formerly, I think a Party might. winter in one of those Posts, set out early in Spring for the Pacific Ocean, find out a good Port, take its Latitude, Longitude, and describe it so accurately as to enable our Ships from the East Indies to find it out with ease, and then return the year following; Your Lordship will readily perceive the advantage of such Discoveries, and how difficult attempts to explore unknown Parts must prove to the English, unless we avail ourselves of the knowledge of the Canadians, who are well acquainted with the Country, the Language and Manners of the Natives.

Your Lordship has likewise herewith inclosed the observation of the Traders here on Sir William Johnson's Regulations, together 292 with a Petition they presented to me at the same time; I was rather displeased at some of the expressions they made use of in their Observations, but on close examination, found it was more owing to their not sufficiently

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understanding the force of their own words, than to any unwillingness to submit to proper Orders and Regulations, for which they seem at present to be perfectly disposed.

I am with much Respect and Esteem, Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,  
Guy Carleton .

*The Earl of Shelburne, One Of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, &c .*

### **1768: LICENSE FOR ILLINOIS PRIEST**

[Permit to Father Pierre Gibault, dated June 1, 1768. MS. in Chicago Historical Society.]

*By the Hon. Guy Carleton, Lieutenant Governor and commander in chief of the Province of Quebec, Brigadier General Commanding His Majesty's Forces in the Northern District .*

The commander in chief of His Majesty's Forces in North America having been pleased to approve of a Priest from this Province repairing to the Illinois for the comfort and satisfaction of the King's Roman Catholic subjects in those parts, who, it is hoped, will entertain a due sense of the care (he) sheweth for their interests.

These are therefore to permit the Rev. Pierre Gibault<sup>14</sup> a

<sup>14</sup> Pierre Gibault was christened at Montreal April 7, 1737, and entered the priesthood March 9, 1768. Destined for the Illinois, he was appointed vicar-general thereof, and reached Mackinac on his outward route in July of that year. There he ministered to the inhabitants, who had been without the sacraments since the retirement of Father du Jaunay. Gibault had been sent to the Tamarois mission in Cahokia, but finding that in a ruinous condition he was soon established as parish priest at Kaskaskia. Thence he travelled to all of the Illinois villages, as well as Ouiatanon and Vincennes. In 1775, Father Gibault made a visit to Canada. Returning via Mackinac, he again ministered there for a month. and then spent the winter in Detroit. His influence over his Illinois and

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Indian parishioners was sufficient to bring them to the American side in the Revolution, during which he acted in concert with George Rogers Clark, rendering the latter efficient aid. No reward or compensation was made for his services, nor for the property that he expended for the American cause. As late as 1791 he was officiating at Cahokia. Thence he withdrew to the Spanish side of the Mississippi, and finally settled at New Madrid, where he probably died. See Illinois Historical Society *Transactions*, 1905, pp. 15–34.—Ed.

293 missionary priest, who has taken the oath of allegiance to His Majesty, together with Marie Gibault his Mother and Louise Gibault his sister, to pass from hence to the Illinois by way of Michilimakinac in a canoe with the baggage to them belonging; without hinderance or molestation; in which all officers commanding at the several Forts and Posts, within the Northern district, are required, as those without said district are desired to be aiding and assisting to him, in forwarding him to his aforementioned destination, He as well as the people with him, behaving as becometh.

Given under our hand and seal At Montreal this 1st Day of June 1708 By the Brig. Gen'l's command.

Guy Carleton .

H. T. Cramahe .

### **1768: LAKE SUPERIOR COPPER MINES**

[Extract from a letter by Sir William Johnson to the Earl of Hillsborough, dated Johnson Hall, Dec. 20, 1768. Reprinted from *Documentary History of New York* (Albany, 1850), ii, p. 533.]

I now proceed to consider the subject of your Lordship's letter and the papers therewith transmitted. And first, as to the Ore. I have long since been well assured that there is not only a large Quantity of Copper Ore in the Environs of Lake Superior, but that on trials

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made on Samples of it, some of which 294 I have seen, it has been found extraordinary good and rich.<sup>15</sup> I likewise about 3 years ago saw an Estimate of the Expenses of taking up, & transporting &c. the most accessible of that Ore, of which I am well assured there are to all appearances entire Reeks; but this Estimate, which I have unluckily mislaid, was, to the best of my Recollection founded on the expectation that it would . Continue to be obtained with very great ease, and that it could be transported, Refined &c. at rates which from the increased Value of Labour &c. in Canada since the reduction of that Country may now be much doubted, admitting that the Vein of Ore would continue equally rich and accessible. I have likewise understood that the Indians themselves would at a very trifling rate procure large Quantities of it, to which I may answer that the Indians are a Lazy people, & naturally Enemies to Labour, and therefore it is much to be doubted whether interesting them in it would be attended with advantage, altho' the Indians of that Country can be satisfied on much more reasonable terms than those who are more accustomed to receive favors from Europeans, particularly the French. I have also heard that some persons in Canada did formerly bring away a good deal of Ore from thence, and that they lost by it, but whether this was owing to the Expense of bringing it down, or to bad management I can't say. The River Ottawa being obstructed by 42 Portages, small and great, would much retard & Enhance the transportation of so heavy an article, & give place to the carrying it by the Lakes as the most Eligible, notwithstanding the latter are at some seasons very uncertain & the navigation often tedious. The length and severity of the winter at Lake Superior will likewise require consideration both with regard to the provision to be made for those that

<sup>15</sup> In 1770 Johnson joined a company for the working of these mines, the field partners of which were Alexander Henry, Alexander Baxter, and Henry Bostwick; in England. several prominent noblemen were also interested. Henry details their attempts at mining, and the failure of the scheme in 1773. See his *Journal*, pp. 217–229; and *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, pp. 37, 38.— Ed.

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295 sho d . remain there & for their Cattle & Beasts of Burthen, and the very low wages of Battoemen & all Labourers in the time of the French when compared with the usual hire at this time, is also a matter that sho d . be attended to.

### 1769: FEAR OF INDIAN CONSPIRACY

[Extract from a letter from Sir William Johnson to the colonial secretary, dates June 26, 1769. Reprinted from *N. Y. Colon. Docs .*, viii, pp. 173, 174.]

I have already observed that I shall forthwith execute the orders transmitted in your Lordship's letter in the best. manner I can, as I shall every part of my Duty particularly endeavouring to discover the designs of all secret enemies who by their machinations threaten us with danger, among other instances of which I find from the examination of a man who is lately returned from the Mississippi and well acquainted with several of their proceedings, that Indians arrived last January at the place where he wintered, who brought belts from the French Settlements, which were immediately forwarded thro the Nations to the Lakes, the purport of which the kept very private was to promote a Union for the execution of some plan & that those Messingers made particular enquiry concerning the strength and number of men at the out posts. There has been likewise an Alarm at Detroit which put a stop to the Traders going to the Westward for some time & occasioned the Inhabitants to fortify themselves, this seems to have arisen from the claims the Indians have to the possessions of sundry French Inhabitants at that place, but the their apprehensions are at present somewhat shared, there is good reason to think they are far from being over, from the concurring Acc ts from all Quarters amongst w h I have just received Information from Detroit communicated by *Huron Andrew* an Indian of good sense much respected for his attachment & services to us, that Mons r *Vercher* formerly 296 a French Officer<sup>16</sup> who was trading last winter at Sandusky on Lake Erie without leave had distributed two belts with two kegs of rum amongst the Hurons, desireing them to retain their courage for that they would soon see their old French Father when they would have occasion for it. These things are so common that the best disposed

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Indians become poisoned with their principles, and all this arises from the want of proper regulations for Trade & the pernicious practice of permitting the worst sort of men to go where they please into the Indian Country.

16 Probably Louis Jarret, Sieur de Verchères, who was second ensign in the Canadian troops (1756), being promoted to be first ensign the following year. After the British conquest, he elected to remain in Canada. His widow died in Quebec in 1792.— Ed.

[Extract from a letter from George Butricke,<sup>17</sup> dated Fort Chartres, June 27, 1769. Reprinted from *Historical Magazine* (New York, 1864), viii, p. 264.]

17 George Butricke, apparently of English birth, was quartermaster of the 46th infantry (1764), being stationed at Niagara. In 1767 he was transferred to the 18th (or Royal Irish) regiment, and the following year accompanied his troops to Fort Chartres, where he was in garrison until 1771, serving at that place not only as quartermaster but adjutant and barrack-master. He retained his position in the regiment until 1778. His letters from the Illinois are interesting as side-lights on certain conditions during the command of Col. John Wilkins.— Ed.

We have been all this Spring, under the greatest apprehension of an Indian Warp, we had it from all quarters that several nations had entered into a League to strike the English in the Illinois Country, this Spring, Col. Wilkins<sup>18</sup> on this information

18 Col. John Wilkins, an English officer who entered the army in 1755 as captain of the 55th infantry. In 1762 he was serving as major, unattached to a specific regiment, and was in command at Niagara during the troubled years of 1763–64. Attempting to relieve the siege of Detroit he was driven back, first by a hostile attack, then by a severe storm. In 1764 he became major of the 60th (or Royal Americans), and the next year was promoted to be lieutenant-colonel of the 18th (or Royal Irish), stationed for a time in Philadelphia. In 1768 Wilkins received orders to set out with seven companies to garrison Fort Chartres, being appointed commandant for the Illinois. Proceeding via Pittsburgh, the troops arrived

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at Kaskaskia, Sept. 5. Wilkins's administration was unpopular in Illinois; he seems to have been overbearing, and to have alienated both the French and English residents of the region. In September, 1771, charges were preferred against him and he was relieved of office, but did not leave Illinois until the following spring. Thence he made his way to Pensacola and England. He left the army at the close of 1775.— Ed.

297 very prudently filled all the stores with provisions and sent Officer with the arm'd Boat to get in a quantity of Wood which was happily effected in a very short time and now we have 280 cords piled up under the Walls of the Fort and we can now bid defiance to all the Indians in America,—the 16th April a party of the Kickapoes broke into a house in this Village; surprised a soldier and his Wife in Bed, scalp'd both and got off without the least hurt; and the 14th May another party of Sax and Reynards attacked some of the Indians that live near this fort killed six, and Carried off their scalps, these strokes alarmed us much, obliged us to keep constantly in the Fort, & watch Night and day, Its now said the stroke intended against us will be in the harvest time, But I am of an Opinion it will blow over for this time or we should have had more of it before now.

[Extract from a letter from Sir William Johnson to the colonial secretary, dated Aug. 26, 1769. Reprinted from *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, viii, pp. 184, 185.]

And tho the effects of all this [disturbances in western Pennsylvania and Virginia] have not been sensibly felt for some time. they at length begin to make their appearance particularly about the Illinois, Ohio &c of which your Lordship will doubtless receive Information from the Commander in Cheif, the Indians having killed several people, attacked & plundered several Traders boats, & in short blocked up the communication 298 of the Ohio, so that is no longer practicable for the Traders. Whilst at the same time they are endeavouring to form a more strict alliance than ever for purposes that are but too obvious, seeming only to wait the success of their negotiations for the commencement of hostilities, and altho' upon these occasions they use much caution & secrecy, yet some part of their late conduct does not exactly agree with it, but shews an extraordinary degree of confidence

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from some quarter, of which the answer herewith inclosed to the speech of L t Col Wilkins commanding at Illinois furnishes some instances, to illustrate which I have annexed some notes, I have received a copy of the Speech of Mons r Verchere (formerly a French officer) to the Indians of Lake Erie, as now delivered by them, this speech was made known to me by some spies I have who with many others since positively affirms that he gave them a present in the name of the French King, and desired them to hold themselves in readiness, but, on my communicating it to the General, who wrote concerning it to Canada, the Indians who esteem *Ver Chere* came to the Commandant at Detroit delivered up *Ver Cheres* belt & also the speech in the manner sent me which was evidently altered to prevent his meeting with punishment; nevertheless the they have certainly suppressed much of what he said to them, enough remains, which to a man conversant in their idiom would be convincing proof without any thing farther. In short as I suspected and frequently represented would be the ease, none but Frenchmen can go into their country to the Westward, & the Indians positively & publickly declare to all people that they will suffer no others into their country, I was informed that the French were at the bottom of the representations artfully prepared to get the general liberty for trading at large in the Indian country which I then observed was calculated for them to engross all.

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[Extract from a letter from Ensign George Butricke, dated Fort Chartres, Dec. 29, 1769. Reprinted from *Historical Magazine* , viii, p. 265.]

We are now in a melancholy situation we have not had the Least Accounts from any Quarter since the first of June, 'Tis thought the Indians have Cut of the Expresses from fort Pitt on the River Ohio, and we have Acc s by frenchmen from New Orleans that since the Spaniards have returned to that place they have forbid all English or french from Landing there, If this be true all our Communications are shutt up, the Indians are all out hunting now, But its said we shall certainly have an Indian Wart in the Spring.

## 1769: INDIANS AND SETTLEMENTS OF SPANISH ILLINOIS



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[Report of Francisco Rui, 19 commandant of the Illinois, dated March 9, 1769. MS. in General Archives of the Indies, Seville; pressmark, "Papeles procedientes de la Isla de Cuba."]

19 Capt. Francisco Rui (Rios) y Morales came to New Orleans In 1767, with Ulloa and the Spanish troops. He was soon sent to the Illinois, not to succeed Louis St. Ange in command at St. Louis, but to erect two forts at the mouth of the Missouri to defend the Spanish possessions, and keep control of the fur-trade on that river. He began to build one fort, but owing to difficulties with his subordinates it was decided to replace him by Piernas, who arrived at Ste. Geneviève Dec. 18, 1768, and at the new fort March 10. Rui thereupon went down the river to New Orleans, where he found the city in the hands of the revolutionists. The report here enclosed is that made to Piernas upon the delivery of the fort, concerning the tribes within his Jurisdiction.— Ed.

*Indian tribes:* Report of the various tribes, who, according to my knowledge, are accustomed to receive presents in this district of Ylinneses. To wit:

1. Kaskaskias

2. Kaokias

300

3. Peorias

4. Metchigamia

All tribes of Ylinneses

5. Pranquichia [Piankishaw]

6. Orinanón [Ouiatanon]

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7. Kikapu

8. Mascouten

9. Miami

All of the district of Ouabach.

10. Poutuatami

11. Sauteux

12. Outaoua

Of the river of San Joseph and of that of Ilinneses

13. Ayooua

14. Sioux

15. Saks

16. Renards

17. Sauteux

Of the district of the upper Misisipi

18. Misouris

19. Little Ausages

20. Big Ausages

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21. Cause

22. Autocdata [Oto]

23. Panimahá

All of the district of the Missouri River

I certify that the tribes here above expressed are the same ones who are accustomed to come here to get presents. San Luis, May 2, 1769. Sainte Ange .

To the above tribes are added the tribe of Chaouanon and Losi, who are accustomed to come to get presents, although 301 rarely. These tribes belong to Detroit. San Luis, May 2, 1769. Sainte Ange

Besides the above named tribes, sometimes the tribe called the Lautre [Loutre] and the Levation of Detroit are wont to come. May 2, 1769. Sainte Ange .

I certify that the tribes enumerated on the preceding page are those who generally come to ask and receive presents at this post of San Luis. May 2, 1769. Le Febreu Debriseau 20

20 Joseph Lefèvre d'Inglebert de Buisseau was a native of France, coming to Louisiana with Marquis de Vaudreuil in 1743. The next year he proceeded to the Illinois, where he was a prominent citizen until removing to St. Louis with St. Ange in 1765. There he acted as judge and king's storekeeper until his death (April 3, 1767). The officer here mentioned may be his son, Pierre François Brunot Joseph d'Inglebert Lefèvre de Buisseau, who succeeded his father as storekeeper, and died at New Orleans (1770), aged twenty-seven years.— Ed.

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A copy of the original, which was presented before me, by Monsieur de Sainte Ange, commandant of the village of San Luis, and which is in my possession. Royal fort of San Carlos el Señor Principe de Asturias, March 10, 1769.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>21</sup> The discrepancy in dates is due to the fact that March 10, 1769, was the day on which Rui made over his command to Piernas; and May 2, 1769, was the date on which Piernas transferred the garrison to St. Louis. The fort here described was not completed. It was begun by Rui on a bluff on the south bank of the Missouri. fourteen miles above the St. Louis of that day. The site was chosen for the American fort named Bellefontaine, existing there from 1805 to 1826. See for this latter fort, Thwaites, *Original Journals of Lewis and Clark Expedition*, v, pp. 392, 393.— Ed.

Francisco Rui

*Instructions:* Instructions prescribing the manner of holding councils and making presents to the Indian tribes, and various other advices which Don Francisco Rui y Morales, captain and commandant of the company of Luisiana, and military and civil governor of the Spanish settlements at the mouth of 302 the Missouri River, left for the first lieutenant of the same company, Don Pedro Piernas, his successor,<sup>22</sup> according to the usual custom, by order of Don Antonio de Ulloa, governor and captain-general of this province.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Pedro Piernas was a Spanish officer who had entered the army in 1747, and came to Louisiana with Ulloa. He was first made commandant of the fort at Natchez; but late in 1768 was ordered to relieve Rui at the Illinois. Having done so (March 10, 1769), Rui returned to New Orleans, and Piernas to St. Louis. There the latter received word of the revolution in New Orleans, and quietly yielded up all authority to St. Ange. The following year he was sent by O'Reilly to take over the command of Spanish Illinois from St. Ange, which was effected May 20, 1770. At this time he received the rank of lieutenant-governor of Spanish Illinois. There he remained for five years, then returned to New Orleans, where he was made lieutenant-colonel and commander of the colonial troops, a position that he

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was still holding in 1785. He married a French Creole, and was popular with that people.—  
Ed.

23 Don Antonio de Ulloa was a savant and astronomer of much repute in Europe. Born at Seville in 1718, he went in 1736 to South America on an astronomical mission, and also acted as military and diplomatic agent. After several years of this employment, he was captured by the English on returning to Spain, but released (1746) at the instance of the Royal Society of London. His services were rewarded by appointment as superintendent of mines in Peru. In 1765 he was sent to take over Louisiana for the Spanish. Arriving at New Orleans March 5, 1766, he was coldly received, and soon alienated the minds of his new subjects, so that a rebellion arose, and he retired from his province in November, 1788. He was afterwards promoted to be admiral (1779), and was commandant at the Azores, dying in 1795 at Leon.— Ed.

*First:* Every band of Indians shall be received in council upon their arrival at this post, and as soon as they have finished what they have to say, he shall answer that he is very glad that his children have taken the trouble to come to see him. Then he shall tell them that if they have brought any furs to trade with the traders, they shall do it forthwith, so that by doing so they may return sooner to their tribe. A day and hour shall be assigned to them for the commandant's answer to them; and for that time he shall have ready the present which is to be given to them. That present shall be placed before them, and they shall receive answer to as many matters as they discussed in the preceding council.

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*Second:* Whenever any party of Indians brings any scalps, and makes a present of them to the commandant of the post, he shall receive them and ask the Indians what tribe the abovementioned scalps were taken from. By the reply, he will be able to tell whether they are the scalps of friendly tribes. If they are of a friendly tribe, he will restore them to those Indians. When he answers them he shall do it with the words of one who shows himself pleased, but shall say that he does not accept them as they are from a tribe with whom he

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lives in peace, and he shall put to them the following example: "If any tribe should bring me scalps from your tribe, would you yourselves be glad if I should receive them ? I do not believe so." They will allow the reason of this, and will accept them without any complaint. But if the scalps should be from any tribe which declares war on us or from those whom We do not know because they are very far distant, then they may be received without any danger.

*Third:* Whenever any of the tribes living in this Spanish district declare war on any other tribe, either because of the theft of horses or for any other cause, the commandant shall endeavor to make peace, by speaking for that purpose to the head chiefs of both tribes, that is if they are willing. But if either of them insists on prosecuting the war, they must be allowed to do so, and to manage affairs for themselves.

*Fourth:* Whenever any hunter or trader complains of having been robbed by any tribe, a sworn report of the theft that he has suffered shall be taken from him, as well as the name of the nation that committed the theft, and he shall be asked whether he knows any of the robbers. Then when the chief of the tribe which has committed the theft happens to come to see the commandant, after the latter has heard whatever the chief has to say, and in case that he has brought with him the article that 304 was stolen by his nation, in order to restore it to its owner, the commandant shall put on an angry face, and shall tell him that if he does not bring the stolen article as soon as possible, necessarily he cannot look upon them as his true children, and that consequently, he will give them no present, and will not receive them until the stolen object is restored. This is the method of restraining them and of forcing them to make restoration. Since it has been the rule followed by the French commandants of this region for many years, without there being the slightest breath that any bad result has been attained by following this system, therefore the Indians are used to it.

*Fifth:* The commandant shall endeavor, by the means which he considers most advisable, to induce any band of Indians, either of this Spanish district or of the English district, who

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shall present themselves to him armed for war, and who shall tell in the council that they are going on the warpath, to leave the path which they are taking, and return to take that by which they have come in order that they might return to their tribe. This is a case in which it is customary to give them some gift greater than is usual, as that is the only means which can compel them to go back. But if they insist on their determination to continue the road, that they were taking, he shall allow them to do so.

*Sixth:* The presents and food that are given to each band of Indians of the tribes who are accustomed to come to this post shall be given to them in proportion to the number of people who come, according as the commandant may consider advisable, for there can be no fixed rule in this matter.

I am of the opinion that the things that I have expressed are the most important.

Francisco Rui

Royal Fort of San Carlos el Señor Principe de Asturias , March 9, 1769.

*Note:* Every council that is held with the Indians on important matters, especially the decision reached. shall be fully set down in writing, and shall be signed by the interpreter and 305 the persons who are present at it, that is, French or Spaniards, so that it may be a lasting record.

[Report of Pedro Piernas. Source, same as preceding document.]

As this [Fort San Carlos el Principe] has been, and is, the place of residence for the commandant, the near and distant Indian tribes, both those of the Misisipi River, and those of the Missouri and its branches, whose names are contained in the enclosed report, gather there. The season for their greatest gathering is during the months of May and June. At that time they descend the rivers in numerous parties with their traders to declare their furs. That is their first object, although it is accomplished with the condition of the pretext

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of visiting the chief and ratifying the friendship that has been established. All the time of their stay provisions are furnished them at the expense of the king, those provisions being reduced to bread and corn, for they provide themselves with meat; and when they depart one has to make them, as it is the established custom, a present, which is proportional to the number of each tribe. Most of the tribes, with the exception of some remote and distant tribes of the Missouri are accustomed to the use of brandy, and prefer a small portion of it to any other present of merchandise even of four times its value. If the savages are treated with kindness, reasonably, and with consideration, they are reasonable when in their right mind. But when drunk they are importunate. beggars, insatiable and tiresome. Yet the commandant must always be attentive to them, listen to them with patience, compose the differences and discords among the various tribes; sometimes make rulings and mediate in their peaces. with persuasions. sometimes with firmness, and most always with presents. Consequently, they are generally costly. But they cannot be so, if the presents are distributed little by little and with equity. That depends in part on a disinterested and vigilant commandant, a loyal interpreter, and a righteous 20 306 store-keeper, who prefer the service and interests of the king to their own.

The Missouri River empties into the Missisipi five leagues above Paincourt.<sup>24</sup> At the confluence of those rivers is located the Spanish fort of San Carlos el Principe at the order and arrangement of Governor Don Antonio de Ulloa in order that the illicit trade might be avoided and to prevent the English from establishing their trade in that part with the tribes comprehended in that distance.

<sup>24</sup> Paincourt (short of bread) was a popular nickname for the village of St. Louis. rounded in the spring of 1764 by Pierre Laclède and Pierre Chouteau as a trading post for the Missouri River country, for which they had received a license, St. Louis grew rapidly by the immigration of French settlers from east of the Mississippi. When Fort Chartres was surrendered to the British (October. 1765), the French commandant retired with his



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garrison to St. Louis, and there established a temporary government, which continued until the Spanish took permanent possession in 1770.— Ed.

In the short time of my residence in that post, there came to bold discussions the tribes of the Osages, Ayoua, Kikapu, Masasten, Pou, Putatami, Utoa, Putchicagu, Renad,<sup>25</sup> and others of the vicinity attracted both by the novelty of the arrival of a new commandant in order to receive their present which it is necessary by established custom to give them for that reason, and those with which the traders impose on them, being assured that they are indispensable to them, and in order to benefit the habitants of the settlements with the goods and products of the hunt. And although the latter are benefitted, it is the king who maintains the expense of the Indians' maintenance during their stay in the village, and he makes no profit from it. Since Don Antonio de Ulloa knew this, he ordered me to arrange for the gathering of the tribes for any matter, as well as the distribution of the annual presents, and the discussion etc., in the above-mentioned fort of San Carlos, where, as it was distant

<sup>25</sup> Piernas was at Fort San Carlos el Principe less than two months (March–May, 1769). The tribes whose representatives visited him were, Osage, Iowa, Kickapoo, Mascoutin, Potawatomi (Pou and Putatami), Ottawa, Piankashaw, and Renards (Foxes).— Ed.

<sup>307</sup> from the settlements, their stay would be but in passing, and consequently, there would be a great saving of food, whose consumption has hitherto been considerable, and therefore costly.

Having settled upon the method and manner prescribed by the instructions delivered to me by Don Francisco Rui in regard to the management of the tribes, which are the same as those found in the documents which I enclose, I shall try to fulfil the duties of my post, without any change in the established practice, so long as I continue in this employ.

The principal settlements of the English domain are located, one opposite to ours of Misera, with the name of Oká,<sup>26</sup> and although it is one league distant from the river, on a

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small river whence it is named, the boats can easily go there to discharge their cargoes. At a distance of five leagues above is located the settlement and fort of Chartres. It is constructed of stone and is remarkable for its size and large garrison; for the English usually maintain there a regular regiment of troops. But at that time they only had one battalion. The commandant of that battalion was also civil commander of all the British district. Another settlement called Kaó is located somewhat lower,<sup>27</sup> or almost opposite Paincourt. It resembles all the others which exist in the English district, whose inhabitants are French habitants who settled there before the cession made by France. At that time there were many of them, but now they have become, less, because many of their families have left them to settle in our district. From those families have been formed and increased the settlements of Misera and Paincourt. In those settlements

26 The French town of Ste. Geneviève appears to have been the oldest Illinois village west of the Mississippi, having been founded some time before 1732. It was, in good-natured raillery by the neighboring villages, nicknamed Misère (poverty). In 1785 the old town was carried away by a flood, and the modern village built upon a bluff, about three miles from the original site. The town of Oká is Au Kaskaskia (at Kaskaskia), for which see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 49.— Ed.

27 Cahokia, for which see *ante*, p. 89. note 32. The French settlers were much given both to abbreviations and nicknames.— Ed.

308 I have acquired during my short stay the information that I present to your Excellency, in obedience to the orders that your Excellency considered it advisable to give me.

Pedro Piernas

Nueva Orleans , October 31, 1769.

### 1773: AFFAIRS AT MACKINAC AND IN WISCONSIN

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[Letter from Capt. John Vattas<sup>28</sup> to Gen. Thomas Gage. From Haldimand Papers, B 70, p. 55; reprinted from *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.* , xix, p. 299.]

<sup>28</sup> John Vattas (Vatass), apparently of Irish extraction, became captain in the 10th infantry May 5, 1760. This regiment came to Boston in 1768, being stationed there until the evacuation in March. 1776. Vattas was promoted to a majority in the same regiment (Jan. 13. 1776), and had left the army by 1778. How long he was stationed at Mackinac is uncertain. He was relieved of the command at that place by De Peyster in 1774, and probably returned to his regiment in Boston, where no doubt he was in the battles of Lexington and Bunker Hill.— Ed.

Michilimackinac , May 16th, 1773.

Sir —I have the honor to enclose to you Returns of the state of Ordnance & Engineers Stores together, with one of Provisions, the Store House is very near finished, already contains the greater part of them, & I hope to inform your Excellency by next opportunity of its being complete, I received a Barrel of Nails from Detroit which not answering for shingles, obliged me to take others out of the Engineers Stores, & have made them fit for that. use, as it would otherwise have been impossible to go on with the Building, I have also provided near eight hundred Pickets for the Post, three hundred of which have been already placed in the room of others, entirely decayed; The winter from the accounts of the Savages that visited us in the course of it has been remarkably hard, insomuch that many of them scarce kept from starving, I am sorry to find these confirmed 309 by others come in from a greater Distance, with the additional circumstance of some being reduced to feed on Human Flesh. However many being not yet arrived, I shall not take it upon me to give it to your Excellency for truth, no more than about some Traders loosing their lives about La Bay; as I understand their Rumours frequently spread here, at this season, to answer private ends, I shall lose no time in acquainting your Excellency when I hear further about it, with any degree of certainty. Mr. Askin Comisary & Mr. Ainse, Indian Interpreter,<sup>20</sup> have applied to me for league to enclose some few acres of land, & build each a house within

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about three miles of the Fort, which I have agreed to on condition that if you should object it be immediately levelled.

20 John Askin was a Scotch-Irishman who came West soon after the French and Indian War, and having settled at Detroit married there a French Creole. He was employed as commissary at Mackinac until April, 1780, when he was dismissed from the service. Retiring to Detroit he was living there as late as 1810. Several sons were in the War of 1812–15. Their papers are now in possession of Clarence M. Burton, of Detroit. See calendar in *Canadian Archives*, 1905, pp. xxv-xxxii.

Joseph Louise Ainse (Hins, Ainsée) was a native of Mackinac, where he was born May 1, 1744; see Mackinac Register, *post*. In 1766 he was an informer against Major Rogers, being soon thereafter taken into employ as interpreter, in which office he continued until retired by De Peyster in 1780. Sinclair thought him a man of ability, and apparently had him reinstated in office. In 1786–87 he made an official journey to Wisconsin, in the interests of a peace; but was accused and brought to trial the succeeding year by the merchants of Mackinac. The trial dragged for over two years, but in 1790 the findings of the court were against Ainse, who. was convicted of having embezzled government stores for his own trading ventures. See *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xi, pp. 491–610.— Ed.

I have the honor to be Sir Your most obedient Most Humble

Servant John Vattas .

*To His Excellency The Honourable Thomas Gage Esqr New York*

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[Letter from Capt. John Vattas to Gen. Frederick Haldimand. Source, same as preceding document, but pp. 302–304.]

Michilimackinac , June 16th, 1773.

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Sir —Your Excellency's Letters of Novr. 25th 1772 & March 29th 1773 I had the honor of receiving last week & shall endeavour to follow the several directions inserted to the best of my abilities a Priest of Detroit by name Simple raised a report last winter that a Body of Savages in number about five hundred attempted cutting off the Fort on New Year's day last that near two hundred of these had already gained admittance to the Fort unnoticed & were by mere chance afterwards discovered covered by a Sentry from whose information they were searched & found to have arms cut short concealed under their Blankets; upon this discovery those without dispersed & fled as did the former as quick as possible; This he informed an Engage of who had been sent by His Bourgeois early in Jany. there from off his wintering ground about eighty leagues on business to his owner, who on his return divulged all he had heard from the Recollet & carried by it much uneasiness amongst the Traders & Savages. I have sent him down to Detroit to be examined in presence of the Recoiler, altho' he denies the whole, notwithstanding the other has sworn to the Deposition. Mr. St. Luc Laeorne's arrival here from Montreal, some time after this ugly Report., added to a Paper left by my Predecessor, relative to a Savage having received a Belt from him, with words that passed between them on that occasion made me begin to keep a sharp lookout & guard in as far as possible against any attempt here by surprise or otherwise. I immediately caused the pickets absolutely worn away to be pulled down, had new ones planted in their room got several hundred more cut & cannon rightly prepared. However I soon discovered Mr. St. Luc's business, to be only to gather in some debts. have had that same savage examined by him & the Interpreter in presence of witnesses, who were readily convinced his accounts were groundless & malicious & deserving of the severest punishment. One Ducharmes, a Trader, has been plundered in the course of winter 311 by a Losaide [Lacède], who follows some business on the Spanish side. This Ducharmes went I believe beyond our Limits and was served so in consequence of it by order of Mr. Purenasse [Piernas] the Spanish Commandant on the Missouri. the Spaniards I'm told want much to engross all the Trade with the Saaks, & prevailed on them very lately to go against the Osages, with whom they had since engaged, that fifteen of the former had been killed, on the spot and the rest had fled much dissatisfy'd with

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that Expedition. I have also heard of a Mr. Boyle's<sup>30</sup> having been killed wintering with three or four more in other parts; but as tis not yet certain how it happened, nor by whom perpetrated, I must wait the arrival of other Traders & refer Your Excellency for a certainty of those facts to another opportunity. Two of Mr. Baxters Company of Miners are here, on their Return to England & Himself shortly expected, on same Business. I'm told they are heartily tired of the undertaking, met with some disappointment in their last year's drafts & have determined to persist no longer in their error.<sup>31</sup> I have directed by the opportunity of the sloop, to Your Excellency, all account of Expenditures for things furnished to Savages by Mr. Todd,<sup>32</sup> with a Draft st twenty days sight in his favor, for the amount Commodore Grant<sup>33</sup> has signified to me having received your orders to prepare two Boats, for the use of this Garrison,

30 Nothing further than what is stated in this document and the next, seems to be known of this trader, save that he was in Detroit In 1768.— Ed.

31 Alexander Baxter was an Englishman, apparently being Russian consul at Montreal. He embarked (1768) in a mining enterprise with Alexander Henry. In 1768–69 he returned to England, organized a company, purchased mines, and brought out miners. These operations appear to have been on the east shore of Lake Superior. See Bain, *Henry's Journals*, p. 228, and *ante*, pp. 293–295, 311. In 1774 the work was abandoned.— Ed.

32 Probably Isaac Todd. merchant of Montreal, who did a large outfitting business for the Northwest.— Ed.

33 Capt. Alexander Grant was bred to the sea, and while lieutenant in the 77th infantry commanded (1759–60) vessels upon Lake Champlain. In 1763 he was invested with the direction of all the military shipping upon the Great Lakes, which he continued to command until 1812, retiring with the title of commodore. He died at Grosse Pointe, near Detroit, in 1815. See statement of his earlier services in *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xx, p. 256.— Ed.

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I have the Honor to be Sir Your Excellency's most obedient Humble Servant

John Vattas

The Interpreter has layed before me & desired me to represent it to you, that Captain Turnbull<sup>34</sup> agreed with him for a Dollar & Ration per Day, the Latter he understands is to be struck off, but flatters himself from Your Excellency's known goodness, the dearness of every thing here & his endeavours to prove himself worthy of his office that you will order him a continuance of it.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Capt. George Turnbull entered the Royal Americans in 1756, with the rank of lieutenant; the next year he was wounded at Lake George. Promoted to a Captaincy in 1765, he was in the following year sent to command at Detroit, where he remained for three years. He seems to have gone thence to command at Mackinac, but the period of his authority there is not entirely clear; Vattas, however, speaks of him as his predecessor. The regiment to which he belonged was ordered to the West Indies in 1773, and it is probable that Turnbull was with them. In 1775 he was no longer on the rolls, either having died or retired from the army.— Ed.

<sup>35</sup> Doubtless this was Joseph Ainsie, for whom see ante, p. 309, note 29.— Ed.

[Letter from Capt. John Vattas to Gert. Frederick Haldimand. Source, same as preceding document, but pp. 305, 306.]

Missikimackinac , July 1st, 1773.

Sir —I did myself the honor to acquaint Your Excellency, in my last that there were many Reports relative to Traders having lost their lives, wintering which I wanted a confirmation of, previous to affirming it for Truth. Hugh Boyle killed at La Rivière des Sauteux [Chippewa River] I by desire of the Traders, had a Court of Enquiry upon, who gave me in their 313 opinion, that he had been in a great measure accessory to his own

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Death; he attempted Twice it seems, to kill an Engage; but his Piece missing Fire & the other presented fire and killed him at once. Two of Mr. Todds men wintering between the falls of St. Mary & Grand Portage are missing.<sup>36</sup> By their Books it appears they were alive in Feb'y last, that they about that time gave credit to a Squaw known in those parts for a vile wretch, but as the Packs, made by them have been found & received by the owner, tis hard yet to say whether they were killed by the aforesaid woman, or perished for want of sustenance. Mr. Duehanne's affair,<sup>37</sup> I imagine, has been mentioned to Your Excellency by the commanding officer, nearest that Post, so imagine it unnecessary to trouble you with any Repitition. I have received a Batteaux agreeable to your orders, from Detroit and expect the second by first opportunity; Of the four left me here by Capt Turnbull, one only remains in some measure fit for service, I have repaired the others so often & to so little purpose that, I begin to consider it, as money thrown away, unless you pleased to order Commodore Grant, to send me a man to inspect into & repair them. I must now acquaint your Excellency that there are four Saak Chiefs, come this Spring to the Fort, but did not bring in the Murderer according to promise & pledges left by them with my predecessor, they pretend that they joined a band of Savages, going to war with others: I at first refused them admittance; which by advice of the Traders was afterwards granted them & I dismissed them convinced to all appearance of their Breach of Faith & Resolution to make it good next Spring; I don't imagine much faith is to be given to their promises. a greater quantity of Packs I have room to think have been made this season than usual; but as the Traders increase yearly in numbers & each

<sup>36</sup> For the evils of this period of unorganized competition in the Lake Superior region, see Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, ii.— Ed.

<sup>37</sup> This arrest of Ducharme was supposed by earlier historians to be the inciting cause of the attack on St. Louis in 1780; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii, pp. 231–233. Ducharme's arrest was in accord with the settled Spanish policy to exclude foreign traders.— Ed.

<sup>314</sup> man does not make equally alike, they in general call the last a bad winter. the Savages upon the whole dont appear satisfied, they are much inclined to war with each



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other & while I endeavour to reconcile them I am sensible from various Reports however Idle, given in to me, that I must trust as little as possible in them.

I have the honor to be Sir Your Excellency's most obedient most Humble Servant

John Vattas

### **1740–75: JOURNAL OF PETER POND [Reprinted from *Connecticut Magazine* , x, pp. 239–259.]<sup>38</sup>**

<sup>38</sup> This journal of an early visit to Wisconsin (1773–75) was first printed in the *Connecticut Magazine* as a curious example of orthography, as well as being the adventures of a Connecticut native in the far West. Impressed with its value as one of the earliest English descriptions of Wisconsin, we obtained permission from the publishers to reprint it in the present volume. The original was found in 1868 by Mrs. Nathan Gillett Pond in the kitchen of Hon. Charles Hobby Pond, governor of Connecticut (1853) and a nephew of Peter. The manuscript was there being used for waste paper. It is still the property of Mrs. Pond.—Ed.

I was born in Milford in the countey of New Haven in Conn the 18 day of Jany 1740 and lived thare under the Government and protection of my parans til the year.<sup>56.39</sup> A Part of the British troops which Ascaped at Bradixis [Braddock's]

<sup>39</sup> The later life of Peter Pond has long been known: the discovery of the present manuscript gives a sketch of his early career. After his years in Wisconsin (1773–75), Pond entered the Northwest furtrade, his first voyage to Lake Winnipeg occurring in 1775. Thence he visited the Saskatchewan. but retraced his steps to winter (1775–76) on Dauphin Lake. In the spring of 1776 he returned to the Saskatchewan, wintering two successive years at its forks. In 1778 all the traders of the district, including the Frobisher brothers, Alexander Henrys and Peter Pond, met at Sturgeon Lake, and determined to pool interests. This was the beginning of the afterwards famous North West

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Company, which was not finally incorporated until 1784. Pond was given charge (1778) of four canoes filled with goods, and sent into the far Northwest, following Frobisher's footsteps. He, however, penetrated much farther than the latter, finally building a fort on the Athabasca not far from what later was Fort Chipewyan. This he made his headquarters for six years, trading and exploring throughout the entire region, and reaping a rich harvest of peltry. In 1782 he had a quarrel with a Swiss trader named Wadin, and shot and killed him. Wadin's widow applied for a trial, and Pond and his clerk were sent down to Montreal late in 1784. but they were freed for lack of jurisdiction. In 1785 Pond was in Quebec, where he presented a memorial to the governor, asking for protection for further exploration. As a reward for services already devoted to geographical research, the monopoly of the Northwest trade was given for ten years to the North West Company. At this time Pond presented a map of the region he had explored. In the same year he again started West, and by 1786 had reached Great Slave Lake. There, in 1787, he had a duel with John Ross, a well-known trader, in which the latter was killed. The following year, Pond finally left the Northwest, and sold out his share In the North West Company to William McGillivray for £800. He is credited with having given information and assistance to the American commissioners for the Northwest international boundary. T. he latter years of Pond's life were passed in the United States probably at Milford, Conn., where he died in 1807. According to the Fend genealogy in *Connecticut Magazine*, x, pp. 161–176, he married Susanna Newell, and had at least two children, of whom Peter (1763–1813) must have accompanied his uncle Charles in naval operations during the Revolutionary War. Peter Pond the elder was in the Northwest during the entire Revolutionary period.— Ed.

315 Defeat on ye Bank of the Monagahaley in Pea [Penn.] the french fortafycation which is now Cald fort Pit Cam to Milford. Toward spring Government began to Rase troops for the Insewing Campaign aganst Crown point under the Comarid of General Winsloe. Beaing then sixteen years of age I Gave my Parans to understand that I had a Strong Desire to be a Solge. That I was determind to enlist under the oficers that was Going from Milford & joine the army. But they forbid me, and no wonder as my father had a Larg and young famerly I Just Began to be of sum youse to him in his affairs. Still the same Inklation &

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Sperit that my Ansesters Profest run thero my 316 Vanes. It is well Known that from fifth Gineration downward we ware all waryers lther by Sea or Land and in Dead so strong was the Propensatey for the arme that I could not with stand its Temtations. One Eaveing in April the Drums an Instraments of Musick ware all Employed to that Degrea that thay Charmed me. I repaird to a Publick house whare Marth and Gollatrey was Highly Going on. I found Miney lads of my Aquantans which Seared Detarmined to Go in to the Sarvis. I talkt with Capt Baldwin and ask him weather he would take me in his Companey as he was the Recruiting Offeser.<sup>40</sup> He Readealey agreed and I set my hand to the orders. My Parans was so angry that thay forbid me making my apearance at Home. I taread about the town among my fello Solgers and thought that I had made a profitable Exchange giting a Rigimintal Coate in Plase \* \* \* llard Cloth. At Length the time Came to Report. Early in June we imbarckd on bord a Vessel to join the Arme at the randivoere. We said from Milford to Yew York proceeded up North river and arrived safe at Albany. I cam on Smartly as I had sum of my Bountey Money with me. I did not want for Ginger Broad and Small Bear and sun forgot that i had left my Parans who were Exseeding]ey trubeld in Minde for my wellfair. After taring thare sum Weakes the Prinsabel Pain of the Armey got together and we Proseaded up to the Halfmoon and thare lay til the hole of the Armey from Differant Parts of the hole Countray Got to Gather. In the meantime Parties and Teamsters ware Imploid In forwarding Provishon from Post to Pest and from Forte Eadward to the head of Lake George. It was supposed that we should Orose Lake George and make a Desent on ticondaroge But before that could be a Complished the sumer ended. Fall of Year Seat in and we went to work at, the fort George which lay on the head of the Lake by that name. In November it Groed too cold to sleap

<sup>40</sup> Capt. David Baldwin commanded the seventh company of the Connecticut regiment in 1756, and Peter Pond is enrolled among his privates. See *Conn. Hist. Colls.*, ix, p. 105.—Ed.

<sup>317</sup> in tents and the men began to Mutanie and say that thay had sarved thare times out for which thay ware inlisted and would return Home after Satisfying them with smooth

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words they were prevailed on to prolong the Campaign a few weeks and at the time promoted by the General the Camp broke up and the troops returned to their respective places in all parts of the Country from which they came But not without leaving a Great Number Behind which died with the Dysentery & other Diseases which Camps are subject to especially among Raw troops as the Americans were at that time and they being Strangers to a wholesome Mod of Cookery it had Great Havock with them in making use of Salt Provisions as they did which was in a great part Broiling & Drinking water with it to Excess.

The year ensuing which was 57 I tarried at home with my Parents so that I escaped the Misfortune of a number of my Countrymen for Monro came against Fort George & captured it & as the Americans were going off for Fort Edward a General to the Capitulation the Indians fell upon them and had great Havock.

In the year 58 the Safety of British America required that a large Army should be raised to act with the British Troops against Canada and under the command of General Abercrombie against the Indians. I found tarrying at home was too inactive a Life for me therefore I joined many of my old Companions at a convenient time for the Army of the end of the Campaign under the same Officers and same Regiment under the command of Colonel Nathan Whiting.<sup>41</sup> In the Spring we embarked to join the Army at Albany where we arrived safe at the time appointed. We were employed in forwarding Provisions to Fort Edward for the use of the Army. When all was ready to cross Lake George the Army embarked consisting of 18000 British &

<sup>41</sup> Col. Nathan Whiting of New Haven commanded the 2nd Connecticut regiment in 1758. Capt. David Baldwin of Milford was one of his officers, but the muster-roll of his company is not extant. See *Id.* x, p. 37.— Ed.

318 Provincials in about 1200 Boats and a number of whaleboats, floating Battery, Gondaloes, Rogalleys & Gunboats. The next day we arrived at the North end of Lake George and landed without opposition. The French that were encamped at that end of

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the Lake fled at our appearance as far as Ticonderoge & joined thare old commander Moncalm & we were drawn up in order and divided into Collams and ordered to Match toward Montcalm in his camp before the fort—but unfortunately for us Moncalm like a Ginerall dispatched Five hundred to oppose us in our landing or at least to Imbarres us in our March so he might put his Camp in some sort of defense before our Arme could arrive & thay did it most completely. We had not Marcht more than a Mile & a Half Befoare we Maet the falon [forlorn] Hope for Such it Proved to be. The British troops Kept [the] Rode in One Collam the Amaracans Marcht threw ye Woods on thare Left. On ye Rite of the British was the Run of Water that Emteys from Lake George into Lake Champlain. The British & French Meat in the Open Rode Verrey Near Each Other Befoar thay Discovered the french on a Count of the Uneaveneas of the Ground. Lord How held the secont Place in Command & Beaing at the Head of the British troops with a small sidearm in his hand he Ordered the troopes to forme thare front to ye Left to atack the french But While this Was Dueing the french fird & his Lordship Reeveaved a Ball & three Buck shot threw the Senter of his Brest & Expired without Spekeing a word. But the french Pade Dear for this Bold aterapt. It Was But a Short time Befoare thay ware Surounded By the Hole of the Amaracan troops & those that Did not Leape into the Raped Stream in Order to Regan thare Camp ware Made Prisners or Kild & those that Did Went Down with the Raped Curant & Was Drowned. From the Best Information I Could Geat from y e french of that Partea was that thare was But Seven men of y e five Hundred that Reacht the Camp But it answered the Purpas Amaseingly. This afair Hapend on thirsday. The troops Beaing all Strangers to the Ground & Runing threw the Woods after the Disparst 319 frenchmen Night came on and thay Got themselves so Disparst that thay Could not find the way Back to thare Boates at the Landing. That Nite the British did Beatter haveing the Open Rod to Direct them thay Got to y e Lake Sid Without trubel. A Large Party of y e amaracans Past the Nite within a Bout half a Mile of the french Lines With Out hoeing whare thay ware til Morning. I was not in this Partey. I had wanderd in y e Woods in the Nite with A Bout twelve Men of my aquantans—finealey fel on the Rode a Bout a Mile North of ye spot whare the first fire began. Beaing in the Rode we Marched toward Our boates at

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ye Water Side But Beatrig Dark we Made But a Stumbling Pete of Bisness of it & Sun Caming among the Dead Bodeyes Which ware Strewed Quit thick on the ground for Sum Little Distans. We Stumbled over them for a while as long as thay Lasted. At Lengh we Got to the Water just Before Davy Lite in the Morn. What Could be found of the troops Got in sum Order & Began our March a Bout two a Clock in ye Afternoon Crossing the Raped Stream & Left it on Our Left the rode on this Side was Good & we advansd toward the french Camp as furs the Miles [Mills] About a Mile from the Works & thare Past the Night Lying on Our Armes. This Delay Gave the french What thay Wanted—time to secure thare Camp which was Well Executed. The Next Day which was Satterday about Eleven we ware Seat in Mosin the British Leading the Van it was about. Thay ware Drawn up Before Strong Brest Work but more in Extent then to Permit four thousand five Hundred acting. We had no Cannon up to the works. The Intent was to March over this work But thay found themselves Sadly Mistaken. The french had Cut Down a Grate number of Pinetrease in front of thare Camp at sore distance. While sore ware Entrenching Others ware Employed Cuting of the Liras of the Trease and Sharpening them at Both Ends for a Shevoo Dufrease [chevaux de frise], others Outing of Larg Logs and Geting them to the Brest Works. At Lengh thay ware Ready for Our Resaption. About twelve the Parties Began thare fire & the British Put 320 thare Plan on fut to March Over the Works But the Lims and tops of the Trease on the Side for the Diek Stuck fast in the Ground and all pointed at upper End that thay Could not Git threw them til thay ware at Last Obliged to Quit that plan for three forths ware Kild in the aterapt But the Grater Part of the armye Lade in the Rear on thare rases til Nite while the British ware Batteling a Brest work Nine Logs thick in Sore plases which was Dun without ye Help of Canan the we had as fine an Artilrey Just at Hand as Could be in an armye of fifteen thousand Men But thay ware of no youse while thay ware Lying on thare fases. Just as the sun was Seating Abercrombie came from left to Rite in the rear of the troops ingaged and Ordered a Retreat Beat and we left the Ground with about two thousand two hundred Loss as I was Informd By an Officer who saw the Returns of ye Nite Wounded and Mising.<sup>42</sup> We ware Ordered to Regain our Boates at the Lake Side which was Dun after traveling all Nite so Sloley that we fell asleep

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by the Way. About Nine or ten in the Morning we were Ordered to Embark & Cross the Lake to the Head of Lake George But to Sea the Confusion there was the Soldiers Could not find there One Betes But embarked Permissively [promiscuously] where Ever they Could Get in Expecting the french at there Heales Every minute. We arrived at the Head of the Lake in a short time—took up our Old Incampment which was well fortified. After a few Days the army Began to turn to themselves and found they were safe for the hole of the french in that Part of the Country was not more than three thousand men and we about forty thousand. We then Began to Get up Provisions from fort Edward to the Camp But the french were so Bold as to Besiege our Scouting Party Between the Camp and fort Edward & Cut off all the lines, Destroy the Provision, Kill the Parties and

42 For a full description of this action, including the death of Howe, the advance attack, the Trout Brook, the mills, and Montcalm's breastwork defense, see Parkman. *Montcalm and Wolfe*, it, pp. 83–113. The actual loss was over nineteen hundred. Pond's description of this action is sufficient, by its accuracy and vigor, to prove the value of his journal as an historical source.— Ed.

321 all under their escort. We Past the Summer in that Manner & in the fall Verily late the Camp Broke up and what Remained Went into Winter Quarters in Different Parts of the Colonies thus Ended the Most Ridiculous Campaign Ever Had of.

The year 59 an army was Raised to go against Niagara to Be Commanded by General Brodick [meaning Prideaux]. As the Connecticut troops were not to Be Employed in that Part of the army I went to Long Island and Engaged in that Service. In the Spring we Repaired to Albany & Gined the army as that was the place of Rendezvous. We were Employed in Gearing forward Provisions to Oswego for the Service of the Campaign.<sup>43</sup> When we assembled at Oswego Col Haldeman took Part of the troops under his Command & Incamped on the Ontario Side But the troops that were Destined to Go against Niagara Incamped on the opposite Side of the River under the Command of General Braddock [Prideaux] But the Company I Belonged to was not ordered Over the Lake at all But Col Johnson who was in the Gateway [Jersey] Service sent for me In Particular to Go Over



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the Lake.<sup>44</sup> I wated on him and Inquired of him how he Came to take me the Ondley Man of the Company Out to Go Over the Lake. He sade he had a mind I should be with him. I then asked him for as rodney of the Companey as would make me a Seat of tent mates. He sun Complid & we went & Incampt with the troop for that Sarvis. Capt Vanvater Commanded the Company we joind. We sun Imbarkt and Arived at Nagarey, In a few Days when all ware Landead I was Sent By the Agatint Mr. Bull as Orderly Sarjant to General Braduck [Prideaux]. I was Kept so Close to may Dutey that I Got neither Sleape nor Rest for the armye was up Befoare the Works at the 21

43 Peter Pond. aged nineteen, born in Connecticut, a shoemaker by trade, enlisted in the Suffolk County (N.Y.) regiment, April 17, 1759; see N. Y. Hist. See. *Colls.*, 1891, p. 196.—Ed.

44 Col. John Johnstone of Perth Amboy, N.J., was commissioned' March 10, 1758, and served at Ticonderoga. The next year he was colonel of the New York regiment, and second in command of the Western army, being (as Fond states) killed by a cannon bali at Fort Niagara.—Ed.

322 fort and the General was Down at Johnsons Landing four Miles from the acting Part of the armye.<sup>45</sup> I was forced to Run Back & forth four miles Nite and Day til I Could not Serve Eney Longer. I sent to Mr. Bull to Release me by Sending another Sargint in my Plase which was Dun & I Gind my friends agaric and fought In the trenches aganst the fort. Befoar we had Capterd the fort the Gennarel had gind the arme & himself & my freud Col Johnson ware Both Kilt in One Day and Col Sheday [Thodey]<sup>46</sup> of the New York troops shot threw the Leag. This was a Loss to Our Small armye—three Brave Offesars in One Day. We Continued the Seage with Spereat under the Command of Sir William Johnson who it fell to after the Death of Braduck [Prideaux]. I was faverd—I Got but One Slite wound Dureing the Seage. At the End of Twenty five Days the fort Capetalated to leave the Works with the bonnets of war & lay down there Armes on the Beach where they ware to Imbark in Boates for Schenectady under an escort. After apointing troops to Garsen the fort we Returnd to Oswego and Bilt a fort Cald fort Erey.<sup>47</sup> At the Close of the Campain



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what was alive returned Home to there Native plases But we had left a number Behind  
who was in there Life Brave Men. On my

45 Probably the Capt. Vanvarer whom Pond mentions, was Capt. Dirck Van Veghte of  
New Brunswick, N. J.

Johnson's Landing was on Lake Ontario, four miles from the mouth of the river where the  
fort stood. The Buffalo Historical Society proposes to mark the site.— Ed.

46 Col. Michael Thodey of New York city was a prominent merchant thereof, whose  
father settled there about 1732. His brother Francis commanded a company on this same  
campaign. Thodey entered the provincial troops as lieutenant in 1755. serving as captain  
in the latter half of the year. In 1759 he was lieutenant-colonel of the second battalion. His  
wound did not disable him for service, for he was colonel of the New York regiment (1761–  
63). He was married (1760) in New York city to Elizabeth Jones.— Ed.

47 The fort rebuilt on the site of Fort Ontario. which was destroyed by Montcalm in 1756,  
was finished in 1760. Pond must have mistaken the name: it was, like the former fort,  
known as Ontario not Erie.— Ed.

323 Arival at Milford I found Maney of the Prisners I had Bin so Industries in Captering  
ware Billeated in the town. I Past the winter among them.

In 1760 I Receaved a Commission and Entered a forth time in the army. We then Gind  
the Army at the Old Plase of Rondavuse and after lying there a few weakes in Camp  
Duing Rigimental Dutey General Armorst [Amherst] Sent of in pourshen to Carre the  
Baggage to Oswago where Part of the Army had all readey arived. I was Ordered on this  
Command—four Offesers & Eighty Men. On our arrival at Oswago the Genarel gave the  
other three Offesers as Maney Men as would man One Boate & Ordered them to Return  
to thare Rigiment. Me he Ordered to Incamp with my Men in the Rear of his fammerley til  
farther Orders with Seventy Men til Just Befoar the army Imbarkt for S[wegatehie] and  
then Gind my Rigiment.<sup>48</sup> Sun after thare was apointed a Light Infantry Companey to be

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Piekt Out of Each Rigiment—Hats Cut Small that thay mite be youneform. I was apointed to this Company. When orders were given the Armeý about Nine thousand Imbark in a Number of Boates & went on the Lake toward Swagoehea whale we Arived safe. Thare we found Pashoe [Ponehot]that had Bin taken at Niagarey the sumer Before Commanding the fort and Semed to Be Detarmined to Dispute us & Give us all the trubel he Could But after Eight or a few more Days he was Obliged to Comply with the tarmes of Our Victoras armey a second time in les than One year.<sup>49</sup> We then Left a Garrson & Desended the River til we Reacht Montreal the Ondley Plase the french Had In Possession in Canaday. Hear we lay one Night on Our Armes. The next Day the town Suranderd to Ginerál Amharst.

48 Oswegatchie, the site of the mission La Presentation, for which see *ante*. p. 145, note 87.— Ed.

49 Capt. François Pouchot. for whom see *ante*. p. 211, note 63. He was exchanged after his capture at Niagara (July 25, 1759), in November of that year, and sent to command a fort called Lévis, on a rocky islet opposite La Présentation. After a vigorous defense against Amherst's overwhelming numbers, Pouchot surrendered Aug. 25, 1760.— Ed.

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In the years while I was in the Armeý all Canaday was in the Hands of the British Nor have they [the French] Had alley Part of it Sins. All Canaday subdued I thought there was no bisnes left for me and turned my atenshan to the Seas thinking to make it my Profesion and in Sixtey one I went a Voige to the Islands in the West Indees and Returnd Safe but found that my father Had gon a trading Voig to Detroit and my Mother falling Sick with a feaver Dide Before his Return. I was Oblige to Give up the Idea of going to Sea at that time and take Charge of a Young fammaley til my father Returnd after which I Bent my Mind after Different Objects and tared in Milford three years which was the Ondley three years of my Life I was three years in One Plase Sins I was Sixteen years old up to Sixtey.<sup>50</sup>

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50 Mary Hubbard was married to Peter Pond Sr. in 1739 and died June 16, 1761, aged thirty-seven. Her husband died in 1765. There were nine children, of whom Peter was the eldest—the youngest being born at the time of his mother's death. According to the Pond genealogy, Peter Jr. was married during this three years' residence in Milford. The expression "Sixteen years old up to Sixtey," would indicate that the journal was written in Pond's later life, certainly after the year 1800.— Ed.

At ye End of the three years I went into trade first at Detroit. I Continued in trade for Six years in Different Parts of that Countrey But Beaing Exposed to all Sorts of Companey. It Hapend that a parson [person] who was in trade himself to Abuse me in a Shamefull manner Knowing that if I Resented he Could shake me in Peaces at same time supposing that I Dare not Sea him at the Pints or at Leas I would not But the Abuse was too Grate. We met the Next Morning Eairley & Discharged Pistels in which the Pore fellowe was unfortenat. I then Came Down the Countrey & Declard the fact But there was none to Prosecute me.

I then Made a ture to ye West Indees & on my Return Home I Receaved a Letter from a Gentelman in New York to Corn Down and Sea him for he was Desires to Go into Partner Ship with me in trade. I Complyde and we Lade in a cargo to the 325 amount of four thousand Six Hundred Pounds & I went In to the Entearer Part of the Countrey first to Mishlemackanack from thenst to the Mississippey and up Sant Peters River & into the Plains Betwene the Mississippey & the Miseurea and Past my Winter among the Nattawaysease on such food as thay made youse of themselves which was Verey darteyaly Cooked.<sup>51</sup>

51 This last paragraph is a summary of the portion of the journal that follows, and does not refer to a separate voyage.— Ed.

The Next is to Show the Way of Convance of these Goods to the Most Remot Parts of ye Countrey for that Year or Season. In the first Plase thay ware Shipt at New York

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for allbaney—from thens thay ware taken fourteen Miles By Land to Sconacaday [Schenectady] in wagons—then Shipt on Bord Battoes & taken up the Mohawk River to fort Stanwix—thare Carread a Mile By Land with the Boates and Put in to Woodcrick & from thens threw the Onida Lake & Down those waters to Lake Ontarey & Coasted along the South Side of that Lake till thay came to Nagarey & from the Landing Plase a few Miles South of that fort thay ware with the Battoes Caread a Cross that Caring Place about Nine Miles—then Put in to the Waters that Cam out of Lak Erey into Lake Ontarey at a Plase Cald Fort Slosser<sup>52</sup> —from that the boats were taken to a small fort Cald fort Erey in the North Side of Lake Erey—then Coasting along South Side of that Lake til thay Com to the Mouth of that River—then up to Detroit—from thens up those waters to Lake St. Clair a small one about fourteen Miles Long—from thens Cros these waters which Com out of Lake Huron you come to that Lake and Coasting a Long the West Sid of it about five Hundred Miles thay Cam to Mishlamacknack that Lay on that [lake]. On the South Side of a Strate Betwene Lake Huron & Mishagan thare was a British Garason whare all the traders asembled yearley to arang thare afaires for the Insewing Winter But I Did not Acompany my Goods myself—Left that Part to my Partner Mr. Graham.<sup>53</sup> I wanted Som Small

<sup>52</sup> For the building of Fort Schlosser (Little Niagara) see *ante*, p. 170, note 12.— Ed.

<sup>53</sup> A trader of this name was at Mackinac in 1779, and again in 1780. It would be interesting to know if Pond's partner was related to Capt. Duncan Graham, a well known trader in Wisconsin and Minnesota during the early nineteenth century. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ix, pp. 298, 467.— Ed.

326 artickles in the Indian way to Compleat my asortment which was not to be had in New York. I there foure took my Boate threw Lake George & threw Lake Champlain to Montreal where I found all I wanted. This was in the Spring 1773. There was a number of Canoes fiting for Mishlemacanac. I agreed With Isac Tod a Sgr. to take my Goods in his CartaGe on freight and Imbarkt with him & James McGill Esq.<sup>54</sup> in one of his Canoes and Seat of from Lashean for Mackinac By way of the Grand [Ottawa] River. As you Pass the End of

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the Island of Montreal to Go in a Small Lake Cald the Lake of the [Two] Mountains there Stans a Small Roman Church Aganst a Small Raped. This Church is Dedacated to St. Ann who Protects all Voigers. Heare is a small Box with a Hole in the top for ye Resepcion of a Little Money for the Hole father or to say a small Mass for those Who Put a small Sum in the Box. Scars a Voiger but stops hear and Puts in his mite and By that Meanes thay Suppose they are Protected. While absent the Church is not Looked But the Money Box is well Secured from theaves. After the Saremony of Crossing them selves and Repeating a Short Prayer we Crest the Lake and Enterd the

54 Hon. James McGill was born in Glasgow, Scotland, in 1744. Coming to Canada soon after the conquest, he entered the fur-trade, and made a number of voyages to the Northwest, being one of the original shareholders in the North West Company. He does not appear to have frequently visited the upper country after 1780, but was head of a large outfitting house in Montreal. McGill acquired a considerable fortune in the fur-trade, and left a legacy for education that became the foundation of McGill University at Montreal. Patriotic in his interests, he served as a militia officer, also as member of the legislature in his adopted country. At the outbreak of the War of 1812–15, he took vigorous measures to support the Canadian government, and was made brigadier-general of militia. The following year (1813), however, he died at his home in Montreal. For his early partner, Isaac Todd see *ante*, p. 811, note 32.— Ed.

327 Grand River so Cald which Lead us to the Waters which Corns in to that. River from the Southwest [Northwest]. We asended these waters & Makeing Som Careing Places we Came to a Small Lake Cald Nipasank [Nipissing] whose Waters fall into Lake Huron By the french River. We Desended that River and Coasted along the North Side of that Lake til we Came Oppaseat to Mackenac—then Crest the Streat to the Garrasson where I found my Goods from New York Had Arived Safe. Hear I Met with a Grate meney Hundred People of all Denominations—Sum trading with the tribes that Came a Grate Distans with thare furs, Skins & Maple Suga &c to Market. To these May be added Dride Venson, Bares Greas, and the Like which is a Considerable Part of trade. Others ware Imployd in

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Making up thare Equipments for to Send in to the Differant Parts of the Country to Pas the Winter with ye Indan tribes and trade what thay Git from the Hunt of ye Winter Insewing. I was one of this Discription. I Divided my Goods into twelve Parts and fited out twelv Larg Canoes for Differant Parts of the Nississippi River. Each cannew was mad of Birch Bark and white Seader thay would Carry seven Thousand wate.

*A Description of Macenac*—This Place is Kept up by a Cpts. Command of British which were Lodged in Good Barracks within the Stockades whare thare is Sore french Bildings & a Commodious Roman Church whare the french inhabitants & Ingasheas [Engagés] Go to Mass. Befoare it was given up to the British thare was a french Missenare [missionary] astablished hear who Resided for a number of years hear. While I was hear thare was None But traveling One who Corns sometimes to make a Short stay But all way in the Spring when the People ware ye Most numeras then the Engashea often went to Confes & git absolution. I had the next winter with me one who was adicted to theaving—he took from me in silver trinkets to the amount of ten Pound But I got them agaric to a trifle. In the spring we found one of those Preasts at Mackenac who was Duing wonders among the People. My young Man Babtist who had Comited the theft Heard of it from his Comrads 328 who Had Bin to Confess. His Consans smit him & He Seat of to Confess but Could Not Git absolution. He went a seacond time without sucksess But was Informed by his Bennadict that Somthing was wanting. He Came to me Desireing me to leat him Have Two Otter Skins Promising that He Would Be Beatter in futer and sarve well. I Leat Him have them. He Went of. In a few Minnets after or a Short time he Returned. I askt him What Suckses. O sade he the father sais my Case is a Bad One But if I Bring two Otter more he will take my Case on himself and Discharge me. I let him Have them & in a short time he Returned as full of thanks as he Could Expres and sarved me well after. The Inhabitans of this Plase trade with the Natives and thay Go out with ye Indians in the fall and winter with them—Men, woman and Children. Most of the frenchmens wives are white women. In the Spring thay make a Grate Quantity of Maple Suga for the youse of thare families & for sale sore of them. The Land about Macinac is Vary Baran—a Mear Sand Bank—but

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the Gareson By Manure Have Good Potaters and Sum Vegetables. The British Cut Hay anuf for thare Stock a few Miles Distan from the Gareson & Bring hom on Boates. Others Cut the Gras & Stock it on the Streat & Slead it on the Ice Thirty Miles in ye Winter. Thare is Sum Indan Villeges twenty or thirty Miles from this Plase whare the Natives Improve Veray Good Ground. Thay Have Corn Beens and meney articles which thay youse in Part themselves and Bring the Remander to Market. The Nearest tribe is the Atawase [Ottawa] & the most Sivelised in these Parts But Drink to Exses. Often in the Winter thay Go out on a Hunting Party. In ye Spring thay Return to thare Villeges & Imploy the Sumer in Rasein things for food as yousal. But this is to Be understood to Belong to the Women—the men Never Meadel—this Part of thare bisness is Confind to the females Ondley. Men are Imployd in Hunting, fishing & fouling, War Parties etc. These Wood aford Partreages. Hairs, Vensen foxis & Rackcones, Sum Wild Pigin. This Lake or Strate abounds in all sorts of fine fish. I have Wade a trout 329 taken in By Mr. Camps with a Hook & line under the Ice in taken Sixtey Six Pounds wate. I was Present. The Water was fifteen fatham Deape. The white fish are ye Another Exquisseat fish. They will way from 21 ½ to 9 & 10 Pound wt. Baran La Huntan who was the first that made an Excirtion from Macanac Into the Maseepey By the Rout of the Fox River—the his Ideas ware Rong in Som things as I have Proved Sins his day—that \* \* \* the Sturges [sturgeon] are the Best in these Lakes & the Harens [herrings] Exsead in flaver. The waters are trans Parant and fine.

I return to my one [own]. In Sept I Had my Small fleet Readey to Cross Lake Mishegan: On my Way to Grean Bay at the Mouth of fox river I Engaged Nine Clarkes for Different Parts of the Northan & Western Countrey and Beaing Mand we Imbarkt & Crest the Lake without Seeing an Indan or Eney Person Except our One. In three or four Days we arive at the Mouth of the Bay which is two or three Mile Bred. In the Mouth is Sore Islands which we follow in Crossing to the South West Sid & then follow ye Shore to the Bottom is Seventey Miles whare the fox River Empteys in to the Bay. We went a Short Distan up the River whare is a small french village and there Incampt for two Days. This Land is Exalent. The Inhabitans Rase fine Corn and Sum Artickels for fammaley youse in there Gardens. They



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Have Sum trad with y e Indans which Pus that way. On the North Part of this Bay is a small Villeag of Indans Cald the Mannomaneas who Live By Hunting Cheafley. They have another Resois [resource]—the Bottom of the Bay Produces a Large Quantity of Wilde Rice which they Geather in Sept for food. I err to have Menshand that the french at y e Villeg where we Incampt Rase fine black Cattel & Horses with Sum swine.

At the End of two Days we asended the fox river til We Came to a Villeg which Lies on the East End of a small Lake that Emties into the fox River. These People are Cald Pewans [Puans] & the Lake by the same Name. These People are Singelar from the Rest of thare Neighbors. They Speake a 330 Hard Un Couth Langwidge scarst to be Learnt By Eney People. Thay will not a Sosheat with or Convars with the other tribes Nor Inter-marey among them. I Enquird into the Natral Histrey of these People when I was at Detroit of the Oldest and Most Entelagent frenchmen Who had Bin aquanted with them for Meney Years. The Information amounted to this that they formerley Lived West of ye Misararey [Missouri] River—that they Had Eternal Disputes among themselves and Dispute with the Nations about them—at Lengh thare Neighbors In Grate Numbers fel upon them and what was Saved flead across the Misesarea to ye eastward and Over the Mississippey and on to this Lake whare they now live thare they met with a trib of Indans Who Suferd them to Seat Down. It was as is Supposed the foxe Nation who lived [Near them—the foxis was Drove from Detroit for thare Misbehavior which ware a proper People to aSist them in there flite. I Beleve most of it. They are Insolent to this Day and Inclineing Cheaterrey they will if they Can Git Creadit from the trader in the fall of ye Year to Pay in the Spring after they Have Made thare Hunt But When you Mete them in Spring as Know them Personeley ask for your Pay and they Will Speake in there One Language if they Speake at all Which is not to be understood or Other ways they Will Look Sulkey and Make you no answer and you lees your Debt.

I was at Mackenac when Capt George Turnbull Comanded Previous to the Amarecan Reverlution and thare Came in a Cheer with a Small Band of these.<sup>55</sup> He Held a Counsel with them But he couldn't Git an Intarpetar in the Plase that Understood them. At Lengh the



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Capt Said that he had a mind to Send for an Old Highland solge that Spoke Little But the Hars[h] Langwege—Perhaps he mite understand for it Sounded Much Like it. The Land about them on the Lake is Exalant. There women Rase Corn & Beens Punkins &c But the Lake

55 This would seem to indicate that the present journey was not the first time Pond: had visited Mackinac. No doubt he was often there during his previous six years' trading experience at Detroit.— Ed.

331 afords no Variety of fish thare Wood Produce Sum Rabits & Partreageis, a small Quantaty of Vensen. Thay Live in a Close Connection among themselves. We made But a Small Stay Hear and Past a Small Distans on the Lake and Enterd the fox River agane Which Leads up to the Cairing Plase of Osconston' [Wisconsin].

We asended that River til we Cam to a High Pece of Ground whare that Nation yous to Entar thare Dead when thay Lived in that Part.<sup>56</sup> We stopt hear awhile finding Sum of that Nation on the Spot Who Came thare to Pay thare Respect to thare Departed freud. Thay Had a small Cag of Rum and sat around the grave. Thay fild thar Callemet [Calumet] and Began that saremony By Pinting the Stem of the Pipe upward—then giveing it a turn in thare and then toward ye head of the Grav—then East & West, North & South after which thay smoaked it out and fill it agane & Lade [it] By—then thay took Sum Rum out of the Cag in a Small Bark Vessel and Poured it on the Head of the Grave By way of giving it to thar Departed Brother—then thay all Drank themselves—Lit the Pipe and seamed to Enjoi themselves Verely well. Thay Repeated this till the Sperit Began to Operate and thare harts Began to Soffen. Then thay Began to Sing a Song or two But at the End of Every Song thay Softened the Clay. After Sumtime Had Relapst the Cag had Bin Blead often. Thay Began to Repete the Satisfaction thay had with that friend while he was with them and How fond he was of his frends While he Could Git a Cag of Rum and how thay youst to Injoy it togather. They Amused themselves in this manner til thay all fell a Crying and a woful Nois thay Mad for a While til thay thought Wisely that thay Could Not Bring him Back and it would Not Due to Greeve two much—that an application to the Cag was the Best

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Way to Dround Sorrow & Wash away Greefe for the Moshun was soon Put in Execution and all Began to be Marey as a Party Could Bea. Thay Continued til Near Nite. Rite Wen thay Ware More than Half Drunk the men began to

56 Grand Butte des Morts, in Winnebago County, Wis.— Ed.

332 aproach the females and Chat frelay and apearantley friendley. At Lengh thay Began to Lean on Each other, Kis & apered Verey amaras \* \* \* I Could Observe Clearley this Bisiness was first Pusht on by the Women who made thare visit to the Dead a Verey pleasing one in thare Way. One of them who was Quit Drunk, as I was By Self Seating on the Ground observing thare Saremones, Cam to me and askt me to take a Share in her Bountey \* \* \* But I thought it was time to Quit and went about Half a mile up the River to my Canoes whare My men was Incampt But the Indans never came Nigh us. The Men then Shun [mentioned] that three of the Women had bin at the Camp In the Night In Quest of Imploy. The next Morning we Proseaded up the River which was Verey Sarpentine inded til we Cam to a Shallo Lake whare you Could Sea water But Just in the Canoe track the Wilde Oates ware so thick that the Indans Could Scarse Git one of thare Small Canoes into it to Geather it and the Wild Ducks When thay Ris Made a Nois like thunder. We Got as meney of them as we Chose fat and Good. We Incampt hear Would not undertake to Cross til Morning—the Water was two Deap to wade and ye Bottom Soft—the Rode so narrow that it toock the Most of ye next Day to get about three Miles With our Large Cannoes the track was so narrow. Near Nite we Got to Warm Ground whare we Incampt and Regaled Well after the fateages of the Day. The Next Day we Proseaded up the River which was slack water But Verey Sarpentine—we Have to go;we Miles Without Geating fiftey yards ahead so winding—But Just at nite we reacht within Site of ye Caring [carrying] Plase and Incampt. Next morning Near noon we Arived and UuLoded our Canoes & toock them on; of the water to dry that thay mite be liter On the Caring Plase On account of the fox River and its Neghbering Cuntrey A Long its Shores from the Mouth to the Pewans is A good Navigation. One or two Small Rapeds [lead] from that Lake the water up to the Caring plase is Verey Gentel But Verey Sarpentine. In Maney

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Parts In Going three Miles you due not advans one. The Bank is almost 333 Leavel With the Water and the Medoes on Each Sid are Clear of Wood to a Grate Distans and Clothd with a Good sort of Grass the Openings of this River are Cald Lakes But thay are no more than Larg Openings. In these Plases the Water is about four or five feet deap. With a Soft Bottom these Plases Produce the Gratest Quantaties of Wild Rise of Which the JNatives Geather Grat Quantaties and Eat what thay Have Ocation for & Dispose of the Remainder to People that Pass & Repass on thare trade. This Grane Looks in its Groth & Stock & Ears Like Ry and the Grane is of the same Culler But Longer and Slimer. When it is Cleaned fit for youse thay Boile it as we Due Rise and Eat it with Baits Greas and Suger But the Greas thay ad as it is Bileing which helps to, Soften it and make it Brake in the same Maner as Rise. When thay take it out of thare Cettels for yous thay ada Little suger and is Eaten with fresh Vensen or fowls we yoused it in the Room of Rise and it Did very well as a Substatute for that Grane as it Busts it tarns oat perfectly White as Rise. Back from this River the Lands are as Good as Can be Conseaved and Good timber But not Overthick it is Proverbel that the fires Which Ran threw these \* \* \* and Meadows Stops the Groth of ye Wood and Destroise Small wood. I Have Menshund the Vast Numbers of Wild Ducks which faten on ye Wild Rise Eaverey fall. It would Sound two much Like a travelers Storey to Say What I Realey Beleve from What I Have Sean. You Can Purchis them Verey Cheape at the Rate of two Pens Per pese, If you Parfer shutting them yourself you may Kill what you Plese.

*An account of the Portage of Wisconstan* the South End of this Caring plase is Verey Leavel But in Wet Weather it is Bad On account of the Mud & Water which is two thirds of a Mile and then the Ground Riseis to a Considerabel Hith and Clothed with fine Open Wood & a Hansom Varder [verdure].

This Spot is about the Senter of ye Portage and takes up about a Quarter Part of it. The South End is Low, flat and Subject to Wear. It was on this Spot that Old Pinnashon a french man Impose apou Carver Respecting the Indans haveing 334 a Rattel snake at his call which the Indans Could order into a Box for that purpos as a Peat [pet].<sup>57</sup> This

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frenchman was a Solder in the troops that ware stasioned at the Elenoas [Illinois]. He was a Sentanal. At the Magasean of Powder he Deserted his Post & toock his Boate up the Miseurea [Missouri] among the Indans and Spent Maney years among them. He Larnt Maney Langwedgeis and from Steap to Steap he Got among the Mandans whale he found Sum french traders who Belongd to the french factorey at fort Lorain on the Read River.<sup>58</sup> This factorey Belongd to the french traders of Cannaday. These people toock Pinneshon to the factorey with them and the Consarn toock him into thare Sarvais til the Hole Cuntrey was Given up to the English and he then Came into thare Sarvis. The french Strove to take him up for his Desarson But fald. However thay Orderd him to be Hung in Efagea [effigy] Which was Dun. This is the Acount he Gives of himself. I Have Hard it from his One Lips as he has Bin Relateing his adventures to others. He found Carver on this Spot Going without undirstanding either french or Indan & full of Enquirey threw his Man who Sarved him as an Interptar & thought it a Proper Opertunety to ad Sumthing more to his adventers and Make his Bost of it after which I have Haird Money times it hurt Carver much hearing such things & Puting Confadens in them while he is Govner. He Gave a Good a Count of the Small Part of the Western Cuntrey he saw But when he a Leudes to Hearsase he flies from facts in two Maney Instances.

<sup>57</sup> See *ante*, p. 282, note 95.— Ed.

<sup>58</sup> Fort La Reine see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 427.— Ed.

After Two Days Hard Labor We Gits our Canoes at the carring plase with all Our Goods and Incampd on the Bank of the River Wisconstan and Gumd our Canoes fit to descend that River. About Midday we Imbarkt. The River is a Gentel Glideing Streame and a Considerabell Distans to the first Villeag which Lise on the North Side. The River Runs near west from the Portage to the Missippey. Its a Gentel Glideing 335 Streame. As we Desended it we saw Maney Rattel Snakes Swimming Across it and Kild them. The Next Day we Arived at the Villeag where we tarread two Days. This Beaing the last Part of Sept these People had Eavery artickel of Eating in thare way In abundans. I shall Give

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Sum account of these People and the Countrey. These People are Cald Saukeas. Thay are of a Good Sise and Well Disposed—Les Inclind to tricks and Bad manners than thare Nighbers. Thay will take of the traders Goods on Creadit in the fall for thare youse. In Winter and Except for Axedant thay Pay the Deapt [debt] Verrey Well for Indans I mite have sade Inlitend or Sivelised Indans which are in General made worse by the Operation. Thare Villeag is Bilt Cheafely with Plank thay Hugh Out of Wood—that is ye uprite—the top is Larch [arched] Over with Strong Sapplins Sufficient to Suport the Roof and Covered with Barks which Makes them a tile roof. Sum of thare Huts are Sixtety feet Long and Contanes Several fammalayes. Thay Rase a Platfoarm on Each Side of thare Huts About two feet high and about five feet Broad on which thay Seat & Sleep. Thay have no flores But Bild that fire on the Ground in the Midel of the Hut and have a Hole threw the Ruf for the Smoke to Pas.<sup>59</sup> In the fall of ye Year thay Leave thare Huts and Go into the Woods in Quest of Game and Return in the Spring to thare Huts before Planting time. The Women Rase Grate Crops of Corn, Been, Punkens, Potatoes, Millans and artikels—the Land is Exaleant—& Clear of Wood Sum Distans from the Villeag. Thare [are] Sum Hundred of Inhabitants. Thare amusements are Singing, Dancing, Smokeing, Matcheis, Gameing, Feasting, Drinking, Playing the Slite of Hand, Hunting and thay are lamas in Mageack. Thay are Not Verrey Gellas of thare Women. In General the Women find Meanes to Grattafy them Selves without Consent of the Men. The Men often join War parties with other Nations and Go aganst the Indans on the Miseure & west of that. Sometimes thay Go Near St. Fee in Hew Mexico and Bring with them Spanish Horseis. I have sean meney of

<sup>59</sup> For the site of this Sauk village see ante, p. 282, note 96.— Ed.

336 them. The River aford But a few fish. There Woods aford Partrageis, a few Reheat, Bairs & Deear are Plenty in there Seasons. Wild foul they have But few. Thar Religion is Like Most of the tribes. They alow there is two Sperits—One Good Who Dweles a Bove the Clouds, Superintends, over all and helps to all the Good things we have and Can Bring

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Sickness on us if He pleases—and another Bad one who dweles in the fire and air, Eavery where among men & Sumtimes Dose Mischchef to Mankind.

*Cortship & Marriages* —At Night when these People are Seating Round there fires the Elderly one will be teling what they Have Seen and Heard or Perhaps they may be on Sum Interesting Subject. The family are lisning. If there Be aney Young Garl in this Lodg or hut that aney Man of a Differant Hut Has a Likeing for he will Seat among them. The Parson of his Arrant [errand] Being Present he will Watch an Opertunety & through [throw] a Small Stick at [her] Hair. If She Looks up with a Smile it is a Good Omen. He Repets a Second time Perhaps ye Garle will Return the Stick. The Semtam [symptom] ar Still Groing Stronger and when they think Proper to Ly Down to Slepe Each Parson Raps himself up in his One Blanket. He taks Notis whar the Garl Seats for thare she slepes. When all the famaley are Qui[e]t a[nd] Perhaps a Sleep he Slips Soffely into that and Seat himself Down By her Side. PresantLey he will Begin to Lift Her Blanket in a Soft maner. Perhaps she may twich it Out of his hand with a Sort of a Sic & Snore to Gather But this is no Killing Matter. He Seats awhile and Makes a Second Attempt. She May Perhaps Hold the Blankead Down Slitely. At Lengh she turns Over with a Sith and Quits the Hold of the Blanket \* \* \* This Meatherd [method] is Practest a Short time and then ye young Indan will Go ahunting and [if] he is Luckey to Git meat he Cum and Informs the famaley of it and where it is he Brings the Lung and herr with him and they Seat of after the Meat and Bring it Home this Plesis [pleases] and he Begins to Gro Bold in the famerley. The Carl after that will not Refuse him \* \* \* He Will then 337 Perhaps Stay about the famerley a Year and Hunt for the Old father But in this Instans he gives his Conseant that thay may Sleap togethater and when thay Begin to have Children thay save what thus can git for thare One youse and Perhaps Live in a Hut apart. After I had Given them a number of Cradeat [credit] to Receve Payment the Next Spring I Desended to the fox Villeag on the Same River and Same Sid about fifty Miles Distan. Hear I meat a differant Sort of People who was Bread at Detroit under the french Government and Clarge [clergy]; till thay By Chrisanising Grew so Bad thay ware Oblige to Go to War aganst them. The thay Lived

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Within thre Miles of the Garrson and among the Inhabitants, thay Was Obliged to fite them and killed Grate Numbers of them. The Remander flead to the fox River whare thay made a Stand and Treated the traders Going to the Missaseepey Verrey III and Pilleaged them. At Lengh thay went a Stronge Partey aganst them and Beat them back to whare thay Now are But in Sad Sarkamstansis [circumstances] to what thay ware Before thay took So much on them selves.<sup>60</sup> As I Aprocht the Banks of the Villeag I Perseaved a Number of Long Pa[i]nted Poles on which Hung a Number of Artickels, Sum Panted Dogs and also a Grate Number of Wampum Belts with a Number of Silver Braslets and other Artickels in the Indan way. I Inquired the Cause. Thay told me thay Had a Shorte time Before had a Sweapeing Sicknes among them which had Caread of Grate Numbers of Inhabitans & thay had offered up these Sacrafisces to Apease that Being who was Angrey with them and sent the Sickness—that it was much Abated tho that was Sum Sick. Still I told them thay Had Dun Right and to take Cair that thay Did not Ofend him Agane for fear Grater Eavel myte befall them. Thare Villeag was Bilt in the Sam form & ye sam Like Materls [materials] as the Saukeas Produce of the Ground—the Same & Brote in the Same By the

<sup>60</sup> This village is located *ante*, p. 282, note 97. Pond is here summarizing the series of Fox wars. See Wis. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, 1907, pp. 142–188.— Ed.

338 Women But not in so Grate Plentey as the former one on Account of thare Late sickness. I taread hear One Day.

After Suplying myself with such Artickels as I wanted and thay Had to Spare I gave them Sum Creadeat and Desended the River to the Mouth which Emteys into the Masseippey and Cros that River and Incampt. The Land along the River as you desend Apears to be Exalant. Just at Night as we ware InCampt we Perseaved Large fish Cuming on the Sarfes of the Water. I had then a Diferant trader with me who had a number of Men with him. We were Incampt Near Each other. We Put our Hooock and Lines into the Water and Lent them Ly all nite. In the Morning we Perseaved thare was fish at the Hooocks and went to the Wattr Eag [water's edge] and halld on our line. Thay Came Heavey. At Lengh we hald one ashore that wade a Hundered and four Pounds—a Seacond that was One Hundered



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Wate—a third of Seventy five Pounds. The Men was Glad to Sea this for thay Had not Eat, mete for Sum Days nor fish for a long time. We asked our men How money Men the Largest would Give a Meale. Sum of the Largest Eaters Sade twelve men Would Eat it at a Meal. We Agread to Give ye fish if thay would find twelve men that would undertake it. Thay Began to Dres it. The fish was what was Cald the Cat fish. It Had a large flag Head Sixteen Inches Betwene the Else. Thay Skind it—Cut it up in three larg Coppers Such as we have for the Youse of our men. After it was Well Boild thay Sawd it up and all Got Round it. Thay Began and Eat the hole without the least thing with it But Salt and Sum of them Drank of the Licker it was Boild in. The Other two was Sarved out to the Remainder of the People who finished them in a Short time. Thay all Declard thay felt the Beater of;hare Meale Nor did I Perseave that Eney of them ware Sick or Complained. Next Morning we Recrost ye River which was about a Mile Bred and Mounted about three Miles til we Come to the Planes of the Dogs [Prairie du Chien] so Cald the Grate Plase of Rondavues for the traders and Indans Before thay Dispars for thare Wintering Grounds. Hear we Meat a Larg Number of french and 339 Indans Makeing out thare arangements for the InSewing winter and sending of thare cannoes to Differant Parts—Like wise Giveing Creadets to the Indans who ware all to Rondoveuse thare in Spring. I Stayed ten days Sending of my men to Differant Parts. I had Mine Clarks which I Imploid in Differant Rivers that fel into the River.

When I had finished my Matters Hear in October I Seat of with two traders in Company for St. Peters River which was a Hundred Leags up the River But the Season was faverabel and we went on Sloley to Lent the Nottawaseas Git Into the Plain that we Mite not be trubeld with them for Creadit as thay are Bad Pay Marsters. In Going up the River we had Plenty of fat Cease and Duks with Venson—Bares Meat in abandans—so that we Lived as Well as hart Could Wish on Such food—Plentey of flower, tea, Coffee, Sugar sad Buter, Sperits and Wine, that we laird Well as Voigers. The Banks of ye River aforded us Plentey of Crab Apels which was Verey Good when the frost Had tuchd them at a Sutabel tim. We Enter St. Peters River and Proseaded up it as far as we thought Best Without Seaing



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an Indan Except what we took with us. We Incamp't on a High Bank of the River that we mite not Be Overflone in the Spring at the Brakeing up of the Ice, and Bilt us Comfortbel Houseis for the Winter and trade During the Winter & Got our Goods under Cover.

To be Intelagabel [intelligible] I Go back to the Planes of the Dogs—this Plane is a Very Handsum one Which is on the East Side of the River on the Pint of Land Betwene the Mouth of Wisconstan whare it Emties in to the Masseppey & the Last River. The Plane is Verey Smooth hear. All the traders that Youseis [uses] that Part of the Countrey & all the Indans of Several tribes Meat fall & Spring whare the Grateist Games are Plaid Both By french & Indans. The french Practis Billiards—ye latter Ball. (Hear the Bores from New Orleans Cure. Thay are navigated By thirtey Six men who row as maney oarse. Thay Bring in a Boate Sixtey Hogseats of Wine on one \* \* \* Besides ham, Chese &c.—all to trad with the french & Indans. 340 Thay Cum up the River Eight Hundred Leages. These Amusements Last three or four weakes in the Spring of the Year. As we Proseaded up the River we found the Land & timber to be Exalant—fit for Eney Improvement. As we Past up St Peters River about fourteen miles We Stopt to Sea Carvers Hut whare he Past his Winter when in that Countrey. It was a Log House about Sixteen feet long Covered With Bark—With a fireplase But one Room and no flore. This was the Extent of his travels. His Hole toure I with One Canoe Well maned Could make in Six weeks. We Go forward to the Goods—we made Ourselves Comfortbel for the Winter. In Desember the Indans Sent Sam young men from the Planes a Long the River to Look for traders & thay found us. After Staying a few days to Rest them thay Departed with the Information to thare frends. In Jany thay Began to Aproath us & Brot with them Drid & Grean Meet, Beret, Otter, Dear, fox, Woolf, Raccone & other Skins to trade. Thay ware Welcom and we Did our bisnes to advantage. Threw the Winter I had a french man for my Nighber Who had Winterd among the Nottawase Several Winters in this River Well Knone By the Differant Bands. I perseaved that he Seared to have a Prefrans & Got more trade than myself. We ware good frends. I told him he Got more than his Share of trade But. Obsarved at ye Same time it was not to be Wonderead at as he bad Bin Long a Quanted. He Sade I had not

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Hit on ye Rite Eidea. He Sade that the Indans of that Quorter was Given to Stealing and aspatchely the women. In Order to Draw Custom he Left a few Brass things for the finger on the Counter—Sum needels & awls which Cost But a trifel, Leattel Small Knives, \* \* \* Bell and such trifles. For the sake of Stealing these trifels thay Com to Sea him and what thay had for trade he Got. I Beleaved what he sade and tried the Expereament—found it to Prove well after which I kept up Sides. Well thare was not Eney thing Extrodnerey Hapend Dureing the Winter. We Proseaded eastward with ease & Profet till Spring. At the Brakeing up of the Ice In the River in Spring the Water Rose twenty Six feat from its Common sarfes & Made Sad Work with its Banks.

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At the yousal time We preparad to Desend to the Planes of the Dogs—Shall not Make Eney Observations upon these People Nor Panes til the Insewing Year when I had a fair Opertunity. The Waters Sun went of or fell and we Imbarkt & Drifted Down with the Currant till we Came to the Plane whare we Saw a Large Colection from Eavery Part of the Misseppey who had arived Before us—Even from Orleans Eight Hundred Ledges Belowe us. The Indans Camp Exeaded a Mile & a half in Length. Hear was Sport of All Sorts. We went to Colecting furs and Skins \* \* \* By the Differant tribes with Sucksess. The french ware Veray Numeres. Thare was Not Los than One Hundred and thirtey Canoes which Came from Mackenaw Caring from Sixtey to Eightey Hundred ware Apease all Made of Birch Bark and white Seder for the Ribs. Those Boates from Orleans & Ilenoa and other Parts ware Numeres. But the natives I have no true Idea of thair Numbers. The Number of Packs of Peltrey of Differant Sorts was Cald fifteen Hundred of a Hundred wt Each which went to Mackana. All my outfits had Dun well. I had Grate Share for my Part as I furnish Much the Largest Cargo on the River. After all the Bisness Was Dun and People Began to Groe tirde of Sport, thay Began to Draw of for thare Differant Departments and Prepare for the Insewing winter.

In July I arived at Mackenaw whare I found my Partner Mr. Graham from New York with a Large Cargo. I had Dun So well that I Proposd to bye him Out of ye Consarn & take it;

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on my Self. He Excepted and I Paid of the first Cargo and well on towards the One he had Brot me. Nothing Extrodneray worth Notis Hapend hear. Dureing my Stay I Apleyd my Self Closely to Ward firing Out a Cargo for the Same Part of the Country. Hear was a Grate Concors of People from all Quorters Sum Prepareing to take thair furs to Cannadey—Others to Albaney & New York—Others for thare Intended Wintering Grounds—Others trade in with the Indans that Come from Differant Parts with thare furs, Skins. Suger, Grease, taller &c— while Others ware amuseing themselves in Good Company 342 at Billiards, Drinking fresh Punch Wine & Eney thing thay Please to Call for While the More vulgar Ware fiteing Each other. Feasting was Much atended to—Dansing at Nite with Respectabel Parsons. Notwithstanding the feateages of the Industress the time Past of agreabely for two Months when the Grater Part ware Ready to Leave the Plase for thare Differant Wintering Ground.

I Had now a Large & Rich Cargo But about the first of august thare arivd a trader from Lake Superior with the Disagreabel News that the Nawasease & Ottawese<sup>61</sup> had Bin Killing Each other and Made it Dangres for the traders to Go in to the Countrey Except. the Commander Would Interfare And Indeaver to Reconsile the Parties and a Counsel was Cald of all the traders and the Commander Laid his Information Befoar the Counsel and told them it was out of his Power to Bring the Government into Eney Expens in Sending to these But Desird that we would fall on Wase & Means among Ourselves and he would Indeaver to youse his Influens as Commanding Offeser. We heard and thanked him We then Proseaded to Contrebut towards Makeing Six Large Belts of Wampum—thre for the Notawaysease and three for the Ochpwase [Ojibwas] Thay ware Compleated under the Gidans of the Comander and Speacheis [speeches] Rote to Both Nations. I was Bound to the Senter of the Notawaseas Contrey up St. Peters River. The Counsel with ye Commander thought Proper to Give me ye Charge of thre Belt with the Speacheis and the traders of Lake Superer Ware Charged with the Others. The Import of the Bisness was that I should Send out Carrears [carriers] into the Planes and \* \* \* all the Chefes to Repare to my tradeing House on the Banks of St Peters River in the Spring and thare to Hear &

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Obsarve the Contents of the Offesers Speache and Look at the Belts and understand thare Meaning—Likewise to Imbark and Acompany me to Mackenac. Those in Superior had the same

61 Apparently, according to the context, a slip for Chippewa. The Sioux-Chippewa perpetual enmity was liable at any time to develop into war.— Ed.

343 Orders. I Complide on my Part to Grate advantage and asembled Eleven Chefes who went: with me Besides a Number of Conscripted Men. By the Intarpretar I had the Speach Expland and the Intenshun of the Belts—and after we had got Ready for Saleing we all Imbarkt and went down the River to its Mouth. Hear we found Sum traders who Corn from near the Head of the Misseppey with Sum Chipewa Chefes with them. I was Much Surprised to Sea them So Ventersum among the People I had with me for the Blod was scairs Cold—the Wound was yet fresh—But while we Stade thare a Young Smart Looking Chef Continued Singing the Death Song as if he Dispised thare threats or torments. After we had Made a Short Stay hear we Imbarkt for the Planes of the Dogs whare we joined a Vast Number of People of all Descriptions Wateing for me to Cum Down and go to Macanac to Counsel for these People Had never Bin thare or out of thare Countrey Except on a War Party. It Excited the Cureosatay of Everay Nation South of the Lake of the Woods and from that was a Number Chefes which was more than two thousand Miles. Indead the Matter was Intresting all Parties Espechaley to the trading Party for the following Reson—Each of these Nations are as much Larger than Eney of thare Nighbering Nations as the Inhabitans of a Sittey are to a Villeag and when thay are at Varans [variance] Property is not Safe Even traveling threw thare Countrey. When we Left the Plane of the Dogs Everay Canoe Made the Best of thare Way up Osconsen [Wisconsin] to the Portage and Got over as fast as thay could and Got over the Portage. While we ware on the Portage one of my men Informed me that thare was an Indan from St. Peters River that was in Morneing for his Departed friend and Wished me to take of the Morneing for he had Worn it long anuf I Desired he mite Cure to me which was Dun. He was Blacked with Cole from the fire—Hand & face. His Haire was hanging over his Eyes. I

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askd what I should Due for him. He Desird that his Haire mite be Pluckd out to the Crown of his Head, his face and hands washed and a white 344 Shirt Put on him. I Complied with the Request and Seat him on the Ground—Seat a Cupel of Men to work and with the asistans of a Leattel Asheis [ashes] to Prevent Chafe fingers Slipping thay soon had his head as Smooth as a Bottle. He washt up and I Put a white Shirt on him which Made the fellow so thankful to think that he could Apear in a Deasant Manner that he Could stairs Contain himself.

We Desended the fox River to the Botam of Greane Bay So cald and thare joined the Hole of ye Canoes Bound to Macena [Mackinac]. The way ther was fair and Plesant we all Proseaded together across Lake Misheagan At the End of two days we all apeard on the Lake about five Miles from Macenac and Aproacht in Order. We had flags on the Masts of our Canoes—Eavery Chefe his flock. My Canoes Beaing the Largest in that Part of the Cuntrey and haveing a largo Youon [Union] ridge I Histed it and when within a Mile & a half I took ye lead and the Indans followed Close behind. The flag in the fort was histed—ye Cannon of the Garreson Began to Play Smartley—the Shores was lind with People of all sorts, who Seat up Such a Crey and hooping which Seat the Tribes in the fleat a Going to that Degrea that you Could not Hear a Parson Speak. At Lengh we Reacht ye Shore and the Cannon Seasd. I then toock my Parthey to the Commander who treated us verrey Well.<sup>62</sup> I Seat with them an Our and

<sup>62</sup> The commandant at that time was Capt. Arent Schuyler de Peyster, a native of New York (1736), nephew of Peter Schuyler of Albany. De Peyster was partly educated in England, and entered the British army in 1755. Two years later he received his commission as lieutenant in the 8th (or King's) infantry, and remained with his regiment in England until 1768, when he embarked for Canada. The same year he received his captaincy. In 1774, leaving Quebec May 4, he was sent to command at Mackinac, where after three years' service he became major of his regiment. He remained at Mackinac until after the capture of Henry Hamilton (1779), when he was promoted to the post of Detroit. Relieved in 1784, he was stationed for a short time at Niagara, and returned with

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his regiment to England the next year. In 1795 he retired from active service and settled at Dumfries, Scotland, where he had the acquaintance of the poet Burns. De Peyster was himself fond of rhyming; his *Miscellanies* (Dumfries, 1813) contain some curious material on Indian affairs, and events in the Northwest during the Revolution. De Peyster died at Dumfries in 1822.— Ed.

345 Related the afare and what I had Dun & what Past Dureing the Winter. After Interreduseing the Chefe I Went to my one House where I found a number of Old frends with whom I spent the Remainder of the Day. The People from Lake Supereor had arivd Befour us and that Day and the next Day the Grand Counsel was Held Before Comander in the Grate Chamber Befour a Vast Number of Spectators where the Artickels of Pete Ware Concluded and Grate Promises were Mad on Both Sides for Abideing and adhearing Closely to the artikels to Prevent further Blodshed the Prinsapel of which was that the Nottaweses Should Not Cros the Missacepey to the East Side to Hunt on thare Nighbers Ground—to Hunt Nor bread Eney Distarbans on the Chipewan Ground. They Should Live By the Side of Each other as frinds and Nighbers. The Chipewase Likewise Promis On there Part Strickly to Obsareve the Same Reagulations on there Part toward ye Nottawasis—that they Will not Cross the River to hunt on the West Side—After all the artickels were Drown up they all Sind them. The Commander then Made a Presant of a Cag of Rum to Each Nation and they left the fort and went to there Camp Where thay Seat Round and Ingoied there Presant—Sung a rue Songs and went to Rest in a Veray Sivel Manner. The Next Day thare was a Larg fat ox Kild and Coked By the Solgers. All of the nations were Biden to the feast. Thay Dined to Geather in Harmoney, & finished the day in Drinking Moderately, Smokeing to Gather, Singing & Britening the Chane of frindship in a Veray Densant Way. This was Kept up for four Days when the Offeser Mad them Each a Present and they all Imbark for thare One Part of their Cuntrey.

I now Go back to the Planes of the Dogs and St Peters River to Give a nartive of Sum thing that I Have Omitted in 346 the foregoing work As folowes. I Perseaved that the Indans ware Uneasy In thare Minds about Sumthing. I Enquird of them what Had Befel

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them. Thay gave me to understand thare was a Parson at that Plase that Had an Eevel Sperit. He Did things Beond thare Conseption. I wishd to Sea him and Being Informd who he was I askd him Meney Questions. I found him to be a french man who Had Bin Long among the Nations on the Misura that Came that Spring from the Ilenoas to the Planes of the Dogs. He had the Slite of Hand Cumpleately and Had Such a Swa [sway] over the tribes with whom, he was aquanted that thay Consented to Moste of his Requests. Thay Gave him the Name of Minneto [Manitou] which is a Sperit In thare Languag. As he was. Standing Among Sum People thare Came an Indan up to them with a Stone Pipe or Callemeat Carelessly Rought and which he Seat Grate Store By. Minneto askd ye Indan to Leat him Look at it and he Did so. He wished to Purchis it from the Indan But he would not Part with it. Minneto then Put it into his Mouth as the Indan Supposed and Swalloed it. The Poor Indan Stood Astonished. Minneto told him not to trubel himself about it—he Should Have his Pipe agane in two or three Days—it Must first pass threw him. At the time Seat the Pipe was Presented to the Indan. He Looked upon it as if he Could not Bair to Part with it But would not Put his hand upon it Minneto Kept the Pipe for Nothing. It was three times Larger than Minnetos Mouth. It was Made of the Read Stone of St. Peters River so Much asteamd among the Eastern and Southern Nations.<sup>63</sup>

63 The quarry from which this stone was obtained is situated in Pipestone County, in southwest Minnesota, and had great reputé among the Indians, who believed in its sacred character and observed neutrality at this place. It was first described by George Catlin, the Indian artist, who visited the site in 1836. From this circumstance, the stone has been called “catlinite.” See description in *Minnesota Geological Survey Report*, 1877. pp. 97–109—Ed.

I then Embarkt the Thirteenth Day I arived and put my Goods into the Same House I Had Winterd In ye year before, I Heard 347 By Sum Indans thare was a Large Band of the Natives Incampt on the Banks of the River about Two Hundred Miles above me Which Wanted to Sea a trader. I Conkluded ameatley [immediately] to Put a Small asortment of Goods Into a Cannoe and Go up to them—a thing that never was attempted Before By the



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Oldest of the traders on Account of the Rudeness of those People who ware Nottawaseas By Nation But the Band was Cald Yantonoes<sup>64</sup> —the Cheafe of the Band allwase Lead them on the Plaines. As I was about to Imbark the Cheafe arived to Give me an Invatation to Cum up and trade with them. I agreed and we Seat of toGather—I By water and he by Land. I was Nine days Giting up to thare Camp. The Cheafe arived Befour me—his Rout was Shorter than Mine by Cuting across the Plaines. When I arived within three Miles of ye Camp it Beaing Weat Wather and Cold I Incampt and Turned up my Canoe Which Made us a grand Shelter. At Night it Began to Snow and frease and Blowe Hard. We ware then on a Larg Sand flat By the River Side. Earley in the Morning the wind took the Canew up in the Air—Leat hit fall on the frozen flat and Broke hit in Peels. I was then in a Sad Situation. About Noon I Perseared a Number of the Natives on ye Opaset Sid of the River Aproaching me—Sum on Horsback—Others on foot. When thay Came Near finding the Situation we ware in thay forded the River and offerd me thare Asistans to take my Goods up to thare Camp. I was Glad and Exepted thare offer. We Marcht on with Our Loded

<sup>64</sup> The Yankton branch of the Dakota was probably first mentioned by Le Sueur in his classification, *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, pp. 192. 194. Its habitat lay west of the M'dewakantonwan (or Spirit Lake) band, who usually were encountered near St. Anthony Falls, and upon the plains of Vermillion, James, and Big Sioux rivers. Pond would seem to have been the first English trader to venture among them. When Lewis and Clark ascended the Missouri in 1804, they met the Yankton Indians, whose trade was mostly in British hands. Although rude and uncivilized they were more friendly than other Dakota bands. To the number of 3,000, they still dwell on South Dakota and Montana reservations.— Ed.

348 Horses and Cuming Near the Camp Made a Stop and Seat Down on the Ground. I Perseared five Parsons from the Camp Aproching—four was Imployd in Caring a Beaver Blanket finely Panted—the Other Held in his Hand a Callemeat or Pipe of Pece—Verey finely Drest with Different feathers with Panted Haire. They all Seat By me Except the one who Held the Pipe. They Ordered the Pipe Lit With a Grate dele of Sarremoney. After



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Smokeing a rue Whirs the Stern was Pinted East and West—then North and South—then upward toward the Skies—then to ye Earth after which we all Smoked in turn and Apeard Verey frendlye. I Could not understand one word thay said But from thare actions I Supposed it to be all frendship. After smokeing they toock of my shoes and Put on me a pair of fine Mockasans or Leather shoes of there One make Raught in a Cureas, Manner—then they Lade me Down on the Blanket—One Hold of Each Corner and Cared me to the Camp In a Lodg among a Verey Vennarable Asembly of Old men. I was Plased at the Bottom or Back Part which is Asteamed the Highist Plase. After Smokeing an Old man Ros up on his feet with as much Greaveatey as Can be Conseaved of he Came to me—Laid his Hands on my Head and Grond out—I—I—I three times—then drewed his Rite Hand Down on my Armes lancing [feinging] a Sort of a Crey as if he Shead tears—then Sit Down—the Hole follode the Same Exampel which was twelve in Number.<sup>65</sup> Thare was in the Midel of the Lodg a Rased Pece of Ground about five Inchis in Hight five feet long two and a half Brod on which was a fire & Over that Hung three Brass Kettels fild with Meete Boiling for a feast. While we ware Imployd in this Sarremony there was wateing at the Dore four men to take me up and Care

<sup>65</sup> This singular custom among the Sioux had been noted ever since the days of Father Hennepin. who in 1680 describes his welcome as follows: "Many Nights together some or other of the Elders came and wept over us. They rubb'd our Arms and Bodies very often with their Hands, which they afterwards laid on our Heads. These Tears gave us many uneasie thoughts." Thwaites, *Hennepin's New Discovery* (Chicago, 1903), i, p. 244.— Ed.

349 [carry] me to another feast. At Lench an Old man toock up some of the Vittels out of one of ye Kitties which apeared to be a Sort of Scope thick and with Pounded Corn Mele. He lead me with three Sponfuls first and then Gave me the Dish which was Bark & the Spoon Made out of a Buffeloes Horn to lead myself. As I had Got a good apatite from the fateages of the Day I Eat Hartey. As Sun as I had Got threw with my Part of ye feast I was Desird to Steap Oat the Dore which I Did. The People in Wateing then toock me and Laid me on Another Skin and Carred me to another Lodg whare I went threw the

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same Sarremony. There was not a Woman Among them—then to a third after which I was taken to a Large [lodge] Prepaired for me in which they had Put my People and Goods with a Large Pile of wood and Six of thare Men with Spears to Card it from the Croud. At four oclock I Cummenced a trade with them But ye Croud was So Grate that the Chefe was Obliged to Dubel this Gard and I went on with my trade in Safety—Seventy five Loges at Least ten Parsons in Each Will Make Seven Hundred and fifty. My People ware Bystanders—Not a word—Not a Word to Say or Acte. The Chefe who Came Down the River to Envite me up to trade with them Gave me to understand that my trade was to Begin at Sundown But he was absent When thay Compeld me to Begin Befoar the time—he Like wise told me If I was to Contend with them thay Mite take all that I had. I was in a Bad Situation But at Sundown the Chefe arived and seeing the Crowd Grate he put to the Gard Six Men more and took the Charge on himself. He was as Well Obade & Kept up as Smart Disapline as I Ever Saw One of ye Band was more than Commonly Dairing—he Ordered one of the Gard to throw his Lans threw him In Case he persisted in his Imper dens—the fellow Came again—the Sentanal threw his lans & it went threw his Close and Drew a Leattel Blod But he nearer attempted agane. I Continued my trade till Near Morning. By that time thare furs ware Gon. Thay Prepared to March of as thay had Lane on the Spot Sum time Befour my arival 350 they had Got out of Provishon. I was not in a Situation to Asist them Beaing Destatute Myself. By Day Lite I Could Not Sea One But the Chefe who Cept Close By me to the Last to Prevent aney Insult which Mite arise as they ware Going of. The reson of the Behavior of these People is they Never Saw a trader Before On there One Ground or at Least Saw a Bale of Goods Opend. Sum traders Long Before sent there Goods into the Planes with there Men to trade with these People—they Often would have them Cheaper than the french men Could sell them. These People would fall on them and take ye Goods from them at their One Price til they Could Not Git Eney. I was the first that attempted to go there With a Bale of Goods. These People are in there Sentaments Verrey Averishas But in this Instans they Made not the Least Demand for all there Sarvis. Late in the Morneing the Chefe Left me. I went to work Bundling or Packing my furs which I Got from them.

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I was now Destatute of frends or assistans Except my One men and they Could not aford me Ancy Asistans in the Provishon Line of Which I was Much in want. Nighther Could they Asist me in the transportation of My furs. I then Concluded to Leave a Boy to take Care of them until we Could Return with Sum Provishon. The Poor fellow Seamd Willing to Stay By himself and all we Could aford him was three Handfulls of Corn. in Case of want I Left Him two Bever Skins which Had Sum Meat on them and Wone Bever Skin which he Could Singe the haire of and Roste in the fire that he Mite Live in Cas we ware Gon Longer than we Calkalated. The furs ware in a Good Lodg that he mite keep himself warm. We Left him in that Sittuation and Got Back to the House Where we had Left the Goods By Crossing the Plaines. I found all Safe and the Clark had Colected a Leattel Previshon But the Provishons Could not Be sent to the Boy on Acount of the Wather [weather] Seating in So Bad that the men would not undertake to Go across the Plane. Sum Days after it Grew More Modrat and they Seat of five in Number and Reacht him in fifteen Days from the time we Left him. Thay 351 found him well But feeble. Thay Gave him to Eat Moderately at first and he Ganed Strength. Thay Went to work and Put the furs on a Scuffle [scaffold] out of the way of Woods [wolves] or Eney Varment and all Seat of for home. The Day Befour thay arived thay ware Overtaken By a Snow Storm on the Planes & Could not Sea thare Way Near Right. Thay Seat Down on the Plane thare Beaing no Wood Nigh and Leat the Snow Cover them Over. Thay Had thare Blankets about them. Thay ware in the Morning—it was Clear with ye Wind Nowest [Nor' west] and freaseing hard. Thay Dug out of the Snow and Beaing Weat; in Sum of thare feet thy Was Badley frosted tho Not More than ten Miles to Walk. The Boy ascaped as well as Eney of them—I Beleve the Best. I had a Long job to Heal them But without the Los of a Limb.

The Natives Had found out whare we ware and Came in with Meet and furs to trade. While I was up the River among the Band I Inferred the Chefe of the Belts I had with me and ye Commanding offisers Speach and Desird him to Make a Speach Befour thay Decampt. This Chefes name was Arechea. The Chefe that Came to me first Had a Smattran [smattering] of the Ochipway tung—so much so that we understood Each Other at Least

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Suffisantly to Converse or Convae our IDEase [ideas]. He Made e a Long Speach. By the yousel [usual] Sine of a Shout threw the Camp thay ware willing to Cumply. In the Spring I sent my People after the furs thay Had Put on a Scaffel in the Winter. Thay Had an Indan Hunter with them who Kild them Sum Buffeloes. The men Cut Down Small Saplens and Made the frames of two. Boates—Sowed the Skins to Gather and Made Bottoms to thare frames—Rub'd them Over with tallow which Made them rite anuf to Bring the furs Down to me whare I had Canoes to Receve them.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>66</sup> Boats made of skins, especially buffalo hides, were much in use upon the Missouri. For an illustration of these primitive craft see *Early Western Travels*, (atlas volume) xxv, plate 48.— Ed.

On acount of the fuse of the Countrey and Site the Entervales 352 of the River St Peter is Exsalant & Sum Good timber—the Intervels are High and the Soile thin & lite. The River is, Destatute of fish But the Wood & Meadowes abundans of Annamels, Sum turkeas, Buffeloes are Verey Plentey, the Common Dear are Plentey, and Larg, the Read and Moose Dear are Plentey hear, Espeshaley the former. I have seen fortety Kild in One Day By Surrounding a drove on a low spot By the Riverside in the Winter Season. Raccoons are Verey Large. No Snakes But Small ones which are not Pisenes. Wolves are Plentey —thay follow the Buffeloes and often Destroy thare young & Olde Ones. In Winter the Natives near the Mouth of the River Rase Plentey of Corn for thare one Concumtion [consumption]. The Manners and Customs of ye Yantonose—the Band I saw up the River are Nottawase By Nation But By Sum Intarnal Dispute thay ware Separated into Six Differant Bands Each Band Lead By Chefes of thare One Chois.

The Names of Each tribe—1 the Yantonose—2 the Band of the Leaves—3 the Band of the wes—4 the Band of the Stone House.<sup>67</sup> The other two Bands are North one Cald assonebones the other Dogs Ribs. These ware One Nation formaley and Speke the Same Langwege at this Day.<sup>68</sup> Ye Yantonose

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67 The band of the Leaves was the Wapeton branch of the Dakota, called by the French Gens de Feuilles. According to both Zebulon Pike and Lewis and Clark, this band had its habitat upon the St. Peters; they are now on Devil's Lake-reservation.

The band of "wes" is the Waqpekute, or Leaf-buds, one of the divisions of the Santee (Issati of Hennepin). They dwelt on the Mississippi between Prairie du Chien and the mouth of the St. Peters. Wabasha, a powerful Sioux chief, was the head of this band.

The "band of the stone house" was the Sisseton division of the Dakota, whose habitat was on St. Peters River. Their name signified "band of the fort," which Pond renders as "stone house."

68 The Assiniboin are an offshoot of the Dakota (or Sioux), supposed to have split off from the Yankton band. For their habitat, see *Wis Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 189.

The Dog-rib are not of Dakota stock, unless Pond is speaking of some obscure tribe. The known Indians of this designation are of Athapascan (or Déné) stock, dwelling in the far north between Great Slave and Great Bear lakes. Pond had doubtless encountered this tribe during his years of northern exploration, but is mistaken regarding their affinity.— Ed.

353 are faroshas [ferocious] and Rude in thare Maners Perhaps Oeing in Sum masher to thare Leadig an Obsger [obscure] life in the Planes. Thay are not Convarsant with Evrey other tribe. Thay Seldom Sea thare Nighbers. Thay Leade a wandering Life in that Extensive Plane Betwene the Miseura & Missicippey. Thay dwell in Leather tents Cut Sumthing in form of a Spanish Cloke and Spread out by thirteen in the shape of a Bell—the Poles Meet at the top But the Base is fortén in Dimerter—thay Go into it By a Hole Cut in the: Side and a Skin Hung Befour it By Way of a Dore—thay Bild thare fire in the Middel and do all thare Cookery over it—at Night thay Lie down all around the Lodg with thare feat to the fire. Thay Have a Grate Number of Horses and Dogs which Cartes there Bageag when thay Move from Plase to Plase. Thay Make youse of Buffeloes dung for fuel as there is but little or no Wood upon the Planes. Thay are Continuely on the

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Watch for feare of Beaing Sarprised By thare Enemise who are all Round them. Thare war Implements are Sum fifo armes, Boses and arroes & Spear which thay have Continuely in thare hands. When on the March at Nite thay Keep out Partear on the Lookout. Thay Run down the Buffelow with thare Horses and Kill as Much Meat as thay Please. In Order to have thare Horseis Long Winded thay Slit thair Noses up to the Grissel of thare head which Make them Breath Verey freely. I Have Scan them Run with those of Natrall Nostrals and Cum in Apearantley Not the Least Out of Breath. These when a parson dies among them in winter thay Carrea the Boddey with them til thay Cum to Sum Spot of Wood and thay Put it up on a Scaffel till when the frost is out of the Ground thay Intare [inter] it.<sup>69</sup> Thay Beleve in two Sperits <sup>23</sup>

<sup>69</sup> For this custom of aerial (or scaffold) burial, see *Early Western Travels*, iv, p. 286; vi, pp. 141, 142; xxiii, pp. 360, 361. One such cemetery is portrayed in “Maximilian's Voyage.,” *Id.*, xxii, p. 347.—Ed.

<sup>354</sup> —one Good one Bad.<sup>70</sup> Thay Genaley Get thare wife By Contract with the Parans. Thay are Verey Gellas [jealous] of thare women. It Sumtimes Hapens that a Man will take his Nighbers Wife from him But Both are Oblige to Quit the tribe thay Belong to But it is Seldum you can Hear of Murders Cummitted among them. Thay have Punneshment for thefts among themselves. They Sumtimes Retelate by taking as Much Property from the Ofender if thay Can find it But I Seldum Hurd of thefts among themselves whatever thay Mite Due to others. When thay are Marching or Rideing Over the Planes thay Put on a Garment Like an Outside Vest with Sieves that Cum Down to thare Elboes Made of Soft Skins and Several thicknesses that will turn an arrow at a Distans—and a target two and a half feet in Diameter of the Same Matearal and thickness hung Over thare Sholders that Gards thare Backs. When thare is a Number of them to Gather Going in front of thare Band thay Make a War like apearans. The Planes where these People wander is about four hundred Miles Brod East & West—three hundred North & South. Thay Make all thare Close of Differant Skins. These Parts Produse a Number of Otters which Keep in Ponds

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and Riveleats on these Planes and Sum Beavers but the Land Anamels are the Mane Object [of] the Natives.

70 On the subject of their religion consult J. O. Dorsay, "Study of Dakota and Assiniboin Cults," in U.S. Bureau of Ethnology *Report*, 1889–90. pp. 431–544; and Edward D. Neill, *Minnesota* (Minneapolis, 1882), pp. 54–60.— Ed.

The Spring is now advancing fast.

The Chefes Cuming with a Number of the Natives to Go with me to Mackenac to Sea and Hear what thare farther Had to Say—71

71 The remainder of the narrative was destroyed.— Ed.

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### 1776: WESTERN INDIANS REINFORCE CARLETON

[Letter from Maj. A. S. De Peyster to Charles Langlade; reprinted from De Peyster, *Miscellanies* , p. [xix.]

*To Monsieur Langlade Orders*

Monsieur —You will take command of the savages of this post that consist of People of several nations and some Canadian volunteers, with these you will undertake your journey in order to join the superintendent of Indian affairs in the neighborhood of Montreal or the officer that commands the troops of the King in that Quarter from whom you will receive your orders.<sup>72</sup>

72 News of the American revolt must have reached Mackinac in. 1775, by way of Montreal and Detroit. Henry Hamilton, who came up from Canada in the autumn of 1775, as lieutenant-governor of the latter place, had already seen Montreal in the hands of the American troops, and Sir Guy Carleton, the British governor, escaping to Quebec; see



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*Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, x, p. 267. He would seem to have brought orders for Indian auxiliaries to be sent to Carleton in the spring. But by that time, affairs had changed in Canada. Montgomery had fallen before Quebec; Arnold's ineffectual siege had been raised by the coming of a large force of British and Hessian troops; the Americans had been defeated at the Cedars (April 19, 1776), and their army had finally evacuated Montreal and retreated toward Lake Champlain. June 25, Carleton wrote De Peyster, countermanding his order for Indian auxiliaries—see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xl. p. 174; but it was too late to reverse the order. Before Carleton's note reached Mackinac, Langlade had already (as per this document) received orders to command the reinforcement. A part of the Indians must either have gone in advance, or made a very quick passage, for they were in Montreal by July 19, when they were dismissed with presents and compliments, and orders to be in readiness for the next season's campaign; see *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, x, pp. 262, 263.

The superintendent of Indian affairs at that time was Guy Johnson, Sir William's nephew and son-in-law; the former's chief deputy was Daniel Claus, his brother-in-law. They held numerous councils with the tribesmen in 1775 and 1776, and induced many to take the warPath against the Americans.— Ed.

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You will do your best to harass the Rebels wherever you may encounter them, and in all matters you will conduct yourself with your customary prudence and Humanity.73

73 Langlade probably joined Carleton at Isle aux Noix, and although ill during the summer ( *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, viii, p. 406), performed his duties with satisfaction to the commander-in-chief; see Carleton's testimonial in *Id.*, xii, pp. 39–41. Carleton's letters at this date (Oct. 6, 1776) were written just before the naval battle of Valcour Island, on Lake Champlain. The lateness of the season made it necessary that Langlade should return to Mackinac before that engagement. He went via Niagara and the lakes, as per next document.— Ed.



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[ De Peyster ]

At Michilimaquenac , July 4, 1776.

[Letter from Walter Butler to Charles Langlade. Original MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library.]

Fort Erie , 16th Nov r , 1776.

Sir —In Compliance with an order from Cap t . Potts<sup>74</sup> have sent you, a Corporal and Party, with a Batteau, to expedite you in your Intended Journey. I have the Honor to be

Sir, Your very Hum: Serv t Walter Butler <sup>75</sup> C. Kings Reg t .

<sup>74</sup> Capt. William Potts enlisted in the Royal Americans as ensign in 1756, and passed through the various grades until the reduction of that regiment, when he was transferred (1765) to the 8th as lieutenant. The remainder of his military career was passed in this regiment, of which in 1783 he became major. In 1785 the regiment was transferred to England, and the following year Major Potts died or retired. He was stationed on the frontier during nearly all of his military career. In 1758 he was at Ticonderoga, and in 1762 at Niagara. Two years later we find him at Fort Pitt, and again in 1774 at Niagara, where he remained until after 1779. In that year he was characterized as an “old and deserving officer.”— Ed.

<sup>75</sup> Walter Butler was a well known Loyalist of Tryon County, N.Y., son of Col. John Butler, of Wyoming valley fame. Before the Revolution he was a law-student at Albany, being described as a clever and aristocratic youth. In 1775 he accompanied Guy Johnson to Canada. and in the autumn of that year secured a commission as ensign in the 8th infantry. Probably he participated in the affair of the Cedars (April 19, 1776). He was in service at Niagara late in this year, as the present document proves. In 1777 he joined St. Leger's Mohawk valley campaign, and was captured at a secret meeting of Loyalists, tried

as a spy, and condemned to execution. At the intercession of some American officers, however, he was saved, but kept in close confinement at Albany. In the spring of 1778 he made his escape, and it is said planned the raid on Cherry Valley (1778) in retaliation for his imprisonment. His rank is a matter of dispute. His signature here would indicate "captain;" but we cannot discover that he was ever a captain in the regular army, although he may have been such in his father's company of rangers; indeed, he is also occasionally spoken of as "major." He was killed in 1781, on the retreat from a Mohawk valley raid.—Ed.

*Mr. Langland On H. M. Service To Mr. Langland Little Niagara .*

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### 1777: WISCONSIN INDIANS IN BURGOYNE'S CAMPAIGN

[Summary of documents published in previous volumes of this series.]

[In the spring of 1777 Langlade was commissioned by Captain De Peyster to secure Indian auxiliaries for the Canadian campaign. Accordingly, in April he began his operations, and June 4 was at Mackinac with sixty Indians. The next day he left for Canada, some Menominee deserting before the start. The Potawatomi of St. Josephs arrived later, and were sent on trader command of Louis Chevalier. Charles Gautier arrived still later, with a force of Sank and Foxes. He reported uneasiness on the Mississippi, due to the intrigues of the Spaniards.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>76</sup> For these documents see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii, pp. 405–407; viii, p. 220; xii, pp. 44–46.—Ed.

By July 14 Langlade had reported to Carleton at Quebec,<sup>77</sup> and was sent on to join Burgoyne at Lake Champlain. He reached the army while it lay at Skenesborough, and advanced with the troops to Fort Edward. Burgoyne's policy did not please his Indian auxiliaries, for he attempted to restrain their

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77 *Ibid.*, p. 46.— Ed.

358 barbarities. Early in August a Council was held, at which the tribesmen promised obedience; nevertheless they began leaving him in large numbers, and by August 6 scarcely one of the Western Indians was left.<sup>78</sup> Gautier returned to Mackinac in October, and probably Langlade accompanied him.]<sup>79</sup>

<sup>78</sup> Thomas Anburey, *Travels in North America* (London, 1791), i, pp. 315, 324, 327–330: see also *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii, pp. 167–172.— Ed.

<sup>79</sup> *Id.*, xi, p. 100.— Ed.

### 1777: SPANISH DESCRIBE TRIBESMEN

[MS. in General Archives of the Indies. Seville; pressmark, “Papeles procedientes de la Isla de Cuba.”]

*Summary of the Indian tribes of the Misuri River, who are accustomed to come to receive presents at this post, and the number of their warriors; the name of the principal chief of each tribe; the district where they are located; their distance and direction from this village; in what each one is occupied; the profit or harm that each. has been in the past; and the enemies of each one .*

### Little Osages

The tribe of the Little Osages is composed, according to the information of those experienced men who generally make annual trading voyages to them, el' three hundred and fifty or four hundred warriors. The name of the principal chief of this tribe is Balafre [the Scarred One]. Their location is one-half league from the shore of the Misuri River, distant some eighty-five leagues froth this village. Their occupation has always been, and

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is, that, of the hunt, whence proceeds the fur-trade that is carried on at this post. This tribe has always, as a general thing, been at war with the tribes located on the Misisipy.

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However, we have heard this year that they were about to make peace, although the truth of the statement has not yet been verified. And even should it be a fact, since this race is so extremely warlike, that for the consideration of a horse which one tribe steals from the others, they break peace entirely, nothing can be based on this particular, nor can any individual information be given in this matter. Their work or occupation is sufficiently profitable for the fur-trade. The only harm experienced from this tribe in these settlements is the theft of some horses from the habitants, but one can usually succeed quite easily in inducing them to restore these animals.

### **Misuris**

This tribe is composed of two hundred warriors. The name of the principal chief of this tribe is Kaige, and their location is on the very shores of the Misury River, distant about eighty-six or eighty-seven leagues from this village. Their occupation has always been, and is, that of hunting; for although they generally plant some little maize every year, this does not suffice them even for their own support. This tribe is also at war with all the tribes of the Misisipy, and under the same circumstances as have been mentioned in regard to the Little Osages. The work of hunting in which they are occupied is sufficiently profitable for the trade of this post, as witnessed by the fact that they annually produce eighty or ninety packs of furs. The only harm experienced from the people of this tribe is the theft of a few horses from the habitants of this district, although not so frequently as is the case with the Little Osages; and the detaining of the traders who go up the river, for the sole purpose of getting from them some guns, powder, bullets, and other things.

### **Tribe of the Cances [Kansa]**

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This tribe is composed of three hundred and fifty warriors. The name of the principal chief of this tribe is El Comy. 360 They are one hundred and fifty leagues distant from this village, and are located on the banks of the Misury River itself, at a distance of some fifty leagues from the tribe of the Misuris. Their occupation has always been, and is, that of the hunt; for although they generally plant some little maize, it does not, as a general thing, suffice for their own necessary support. This tribe is hostile, as a general rule, to the tribes of the said Misury River, named the Hotos, the Panis, and La Republica. For this reason they generally cause a great deal of harm to the traders who are sent to those tribes, for they do not allow them to ascend the river, so that those tribes may not be provided with guns and ammunition. This is the only harm experienced from this tribe. However, we have heard that they were thinking this year of making peace. This tribe has always been at war with all those of the Misisipy. From the work of the hunt in which they are engaged there results the profit of the trade which is made in the furs; for every year that trade produces one hundred and eighty or two hundred packs.

### **Tribe of La Republica**

This tribe is composed of three hundred and fifty or four hundred warriors. The name of the principal chief of this tribe is Escatapé.<sup>80</sup> They are located some two hundred and twenty leagues from this village, and about one hundred and ten from the Misuri River on the shores of the Cances River, and about forty or fifty leagues from the village of the tribe of that name by land. The occupation of that tribe has always been, and is, that of the hunt, from which results the fur-trade

<sup>80</sup> The Pawnee were divided into four bands: Grand Pawnee, Pawnee Loups (or Panimaha), Tapage, and Republican. The last-named band gave their name to the Republican branch of Kansas River. When Pike visited them in 1806, they had a chief of this name (he spells it Iskatappe); see Elliott Cones, *Expeditions of Zebulon M. Pike* (New York, 1895), ii, pp. 409, 410. See also the visit of commissioners in "Long's Expedition," *Early Western Travels*, xv, pp 161165.— Ed.

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361 of this post, especially the trade in beaver, buffalo, and otter skins, and some packs of deerskins. This tribe is at war with the tribes of the Cances and the Big Osages.

### Tribe of the Hotos [Oto]

This tribe is composed of some hundred warriors. The name of the principal chief of this tribe is La Bala [The Bullet]. They are located some two hundred and twenty leagues from this village, about ninety-five from the village of the Cances, and about fifteen leagues from the Misury River, on the shores of the Platte River.<sup>81</sup> Their chief occupation has always been, and is, that of the hunt, especially that of deer and beaver. This tribe is hostile to the tribes of the Canzes, Big Osages, and the Cloned, who are located on the Misisipy in the Spanish district.

<sup>81</sup> This is the tribe known to Americans as Oto; see *ante*, p. 178, note 21. Once very powerful, they lived upon the Missouri, but depleted by wars retreated to a village on the Platte. There Lewis and Clark found them in 1804, and sent for their chiefs to a council near the site of Omaha. The explorers mention in their journal one chief named “Iron Eyes”—possibly the same as this one called “La Bala.” Thwaites, *Original Journals of Lewis and Clark Expedition* (New York, 1905), i, p. 113. The Old are of Siouan stock, and at the beginning of the nineteenth century numbered about five hundred. Some remnant of this tribe is still to be found in Oklahoma. See “Long's Expeditions,” in *Early Western Travels*, xv, pp. 130–132.— Ed.

### Tribe of the Panis [Pawnee]

This tribe is composed of five or six hundred warriors. The name of the principal chief of this tribe is Sokakahige. They are located about two hundred and thirty leagues from this village, and about fifteen leagues from the Hotos tribe, on a small stream that branches off from the Plata River. Their occupation has always been, and is, that of the hunt in beavers, buffaloes, and some otter, from which results the trade of this village. This tribe is hostile to the Canzes and the Cioux tribes who are located on the Misisipy in the Spanish district.

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This tribe gives considerable time to the cultivation of maize, 362 and they can on that account be easily reduced to the cultivation of any other product. This is the tribe from whom we experience the best treatment, and in whom we find the most docile disposition.

### **Tribe of the Majas [Omaha]**

This tribe is composed of four hundred and fifty or five hundred warriors. The name of the principal chief of this tribe is El Pajaro Negro [Blackbird]. They are located some two hundred and eighty leagues from this village, about thirty-five or forty leagues overland from the Panis tribe, on a small tributary to the Misury, at a distance of about sixty leagues from the mouth of the Plata River.<sup>82</sup> Their occupation has always been, and is, that of hunting beaver, deer, buffalo, and stags, from which results the trade of this post. This tribe is hostile to that of the Canzes but we have never experienced any harm from this tribe. Their occupation in the cultivation of the soil extends only to the planting of maize and pumpkins for their necessary support.

<sup>82</sup> For this tribe see *ante*. p. 188, note 42. The chief Blackbird is noted in legendary annals. He was reputed to be a great magician, and able to cause the death of any one whom he wished. This power was said to have been due to his possession of arsenic, with which he poisoned his enemies. See accounts of his fame in "Bradbury's Travels," in *Early Western Travels*, v, pp. 85, 86; and in "Brackenridge's Journal," *Id.*, vi, p. 82. According to Lewis and Clark, he died in 1800. when a great epidemic of smallpox destroyed a large portion of the tribe. The hill on which he was buried was for many years a prominent landmark on the Missouri. The principal village was on a small creek called Omaha, about seventy miles above the city that now takes their name. See description in "Longs Expedition," *Id.*, xiv, pp. 288, 289.— Ed.

### **The Big Osages**

This tribe is composed of eight hundred warriors. The name of the principal chief of this tribe is Cleromon [Clermont]. They are located by water one hundred and eighty

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leagues from this village, and overland about one hundred and 363 ten, on the banks of a river emptying into the Misury which is about one hundred and forty leagues long.<sup>83</sup> This tribe is hostile to the tribes of La Republica, the Hotos, the Alcanzos [Kansa], the Penis, the Piquies [Picts], and the tribes living on the Misisipy in the English district. The injury experienced from this tribe is the theft of some horses from the habitants of these settlements. Their occupation has always been that of the hunt, from which great profit to the trade of this post results; for every year this tribe produces five hundred or five hundred and fifty packs of deerskins.

<sup>83</sup> For this tribe, see ante, p. 86, note 25. Their principal village was high up on the Osage River, probably in Vernon County, Mo. The hereditary chief of this tribe was named Clermont, signifying "builder of towns." The elder Clermont having died, the chief White Hair usurped the place of his son, who later attached himself to the Arkansas band of Osage. See *Pike's Expeditions*, ii, pp. 556–558; also "Nuttall's Journal" in *Early Western Travels*, xiii, p. 247. During the Spanish regime and after, merchants of St. Louis conducted a very lucrative trade with the Osage.— Ed.

### The Hayuas [Iowa]

This tribe is composed of two hundred and fifty warriors. The name of the principal chief of this tribe is El Ladron [the Robber]. They are located eighty leagues distant from this village by water by the Misisipy River on the shores of the Muen River.<sup>84</sup> This tribe is hostile to the tribes of the Misury River. Their occupation is that of hunting, but no benefit to [our] trade results therefrom, for the reason that the fur-trade is carried on continually with the traders who are entering that river from the English district.

<sup>84</sup> For this tribe see ante, p. 178, note 21. No chief of this name is known, unless it be the same as Wa-cha-mon-ya (he who kills as he walks). The Iowa chiefs do not appear to have had hereditary names. The principal village of this tribe was located on the Des Moines (Muen) River, near the northwestern corner of Van Buren County, about where



lowaville now stands. They also had a large village (in 1804) near the heads of the Des Moines, whence they had removed from the Missouri.— Ed.

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### **Sioux Tribe**

We have been unable to learn the number of warriors of this tribe; for they are very numerous and are settled in distinct districts. The name of their principal chief is La Gran Mano [Big-hand]. They are located on the meadow-lands of the Misisipy in the Spanish district, about two hundred and thirty leagues from this village. Their occupation is that of hunting, but no profit results therefrom to this district, for the traders from the English district are entering by the Muen River into a district called Fuzch one hundred and fifty leagues from the Misisipy, in order to trade with them.

*Tribes which Generally come from the English district to receive presents in this post .*

### **Falco Abuene [Folles Avoines]**

This tribe, according to our information thereof, is composed of two hundred warriors. The name of the principal chief of this tribe is Carton. They are located at a distance of three hundred and ten leagues from this village, and are separated by about eighty leagues from the Misisipy River by a river which takes its rise in a lake called Lake Superior, on which their chief residence is located.<sup>85</sup> This tribe shows itself to be

<sup>85</sup> Carton was a half-breed, son of a French trader of that name. He was not hereditary chief of the Menominee. but being a good orator acquired much influence. and was the leading headman. He was one of the Menominee who in 1763 refused Pontiac's solicitations, and remained faithful to the English. Several of his sons were chiefs, among the best known being Tomah, who was active in British interests during the War of 1812–15. The elder Carton died about 1780, at the village near the site of Fort Howard.

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The location of the Folles Avoinnes was not clear to the mind of the Spanish author of this manuscript. He evidently thought that Wisconsin River rose in Lake Superior, and that the tribe resided on or near that river. Apparently he was unacquainted with the existence of Fox River.— Ed.

365 well inclined to this district, and we have experienced no injury from them.

### **The Rencor Tribe [Foxes]**

This tribe is composed of three hundred or three hundred and fifty warriors. The name of the principal chief of this tribe is Macata Uchen.<sup>86</sup> They are located on the shores of the Misisipy itself, at a distance of two hundred leagues from this village. This tribe has been, and is, very greatly affected to this district, and it has never been experienced, according to our information, that they have caused any harm to it, and we can, at any time, put our trust in them, under any circumstances.

<sup>86</sup> Possibly this was the Fox chief called by Pike in 1806, “the Raven;” the first syllables of his name correspond to the first part of the Indian name of Black Hawk. Raven's village was on the west side of the Mississippi, in the neighborhood of the mouth of Wapsipinicon River. which was an ancient seat of the Foxes. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii. p. 206.— Ed.

### **The Sac Tribe**

This tribe is composed of four hundred warriors. The name of the principal chief of this tribe is Kakieguemec. They are located on the banks of the Misisipy at a distance of two hundred and thirty leagues from this village. This tribe has always shown itself well inclined to this district, and it has never been found that they have done any harm to the habitants in the frequent bands that have come to this village, or to the hunters who are wont to go by the Misisipy to hunt. On the contrary it has been experienced that they aid and protect the latter whenever it has been necessary; and they do not do that with the hunters of the English district, notwithstanding the more liberal presents generally given from there.

### **Tribe of the Pueans [Puans]**

This tribe is composed of one hundred and fifty warriors. The name of the principal chief of this tribe is Lepy. They are located one hundred and forty leagues from this village at 366 a distance of about two leagues from the Misisipy on a small stream called La Roch [Rock River].<sup>87</sup> But little confidence can be placed in this tribe, for they are evil dispositioned, as has been always experienced also by the people of the other district as well as this, because of the thefts that they are wont to commit on the hunters whom they meet on the Misisipy, and other voyageurs.

<sup>87</sup> The Winnebago (Puant), whose home when first known to the whites was in the vicinity of Green Bay, retreated to Rock River after the French expedition of 1728. The larger portion returned to their first habitat; but the Rock River band maintained a distinct position until after the Black Hawk War (1832). The Rock River Winnebago affiliated with the Americans under George Rogers Clark in 1778; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, p. 113.— Ed.

### **The Mascuten Tribe**

This tribe is composed of two hundred warriors. The name of the principal chief of this tribe is El Tander. They are located eighty leagues overland from this village, on a river called Aguas Bajas [Low Waters], distant from the Misisipy River by La Belle Rivière one hundred and twenty leagues, next to a village of the English, called Post Vensen [Vincennes].<sup>88</sup> We have never heard that this tribe has done any harm to this district. On the contrary, whenever any of them are wont to come to this village, we have experienced great affection in them and considerable quietness.

<sup>88</sup> “Aguas Bajas” is apparently the old Spanish name for Wabash River. The tribe near Post Vincennes was the Piankashaw, not Mascoutin. The latter dwelt in the neighborhood of Oulatanon.— Ed.

### **Quicapu [Kickapoo]**

This tribe is composed of three hundred warriors. The name of the principal chief of this tribe is Pacana.<sup>89</sup> They are located

<sup>89</sup> Although the permanent villages of the Mascoutin and Kickapoo were near Fort Ouiatanon, on the Wabash, yet these tribes appear to have been much with the Piankashaw, near Vincennes, and under the influences of their great chief, Tobacco's son, who adhered to the Americans in the War of the Revolution, and was of much service to George Rogers Clark in his conquest of Vincennes. Pacan was a Miami and the head chief of that nation for many years. He opposed the Americans under Harmar, St. Clair, and Wayne, and signed the treaty of Greenville, as well as those of 1805, 1814, and 1815. He died on the Wabash soon after the last mentioned date.— Ed.

<sup>367</sup> one-half league from the tribe of the Mascuten on the said river of Aguas Bajas. The same things are to be said of this tribe as of the above.

### **The Pu Tribe [Potawatomi]**

This tribe is composed of one hundred and fifty warriors. The name of the principal chief of this tribe is Unan Guise. They are located two hundred leagues from this post, on a river called San Joseph which rises in a lake called Michipan located at a distance of sixty or seventy leagues from the Misisipy. This tribe has been well affected to the French, but they are somewhat in revolt at present, and are evilly inclined, and cause many thefts in this district.<sup>90</sup>

<sup>90</sup> The Potawatomi of St. Joseph seem to have been suspected both by the British and Spanish, probably because of the influence of Louis Chevalier, who appears to have played a double part; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, p. 116.— Ed.

### **The Tribe of Otabuas [Ottawas]**

This tribe is composed of three thousand warriors. The name of the principal chief of this tribe is Pontiac.<sup>91</sup> They are located one-quarter league from the district of Detroit in Canadá, at a distance of three hundred leagues from this village. This tribe is especially well affected towards this district; and as we have heard are not very well satisfied with the English; for they are planning to come to locate in this district.

<sup>91</sup> Pontiac was killed at St. Louis in 1768. This reference to him in 1777, as chief of his tribe, either refers to his son, or indicates that this document was drawn up from data several years old.— Ed.

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### **The Sotu [Saulteur] Tribe**

This tribe is composed of three thousand warriors. The name of the principal chief of this tribe is Leturno. They are located three hundred and twenty-five leagues from this village, and eighty leagues from the Misisipy on a river formed by two lakes, one called Lake Huron, and the small Lake Sencler [St. Clair] which leads to the village of Detroit belonging to Canadá. This tribe being so large, and being divided into various districts, no individual notice can be given of it, except that the principal chief gives signs of great affection to this district.

### **The Tribe of the Peorias and Kaskakias**

These two tribes compose one hundred warriors. The principal chief of these tribes is Deguen.<sup>92</sup> They are located in the village of Oea [Kaskaskia], twenty-two leagues from this village, and one league from the Misisipy.

<sup>92</sup> Jean Baptiste Ducoigne was a prominent chief, who was favorably inclined to the Americans, and aided Clark after the latter's capture of Kaskaskia. In 1781 he visited Virginia, and was for a time with the army under Lafayette. In 1790 St. Clair held council with him at Kaskaskia, and three years later he paid a visit to President Washington and

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Congress. He is said to have died on the Wabash about 1794. His stature was small, but his mind was active and intelligent.— Ed.

This tribe has been, and is, sufficiently well inclined to this district; but they are as present almost wiped out, because they have been at war with all the tribes of their district.

San Luis de Ylinneses , November 15, 1777.

### 1778: WISCONSIN LEVIES AID BRITISH

[De Peyster to traders. Orders dated May 10. 1778: reprinted from De Peyster, *Miscellanies* . p. lxix.]

*Orders* .—Every trader is ordered to embark two or three savages in his canoes in case that Messieurs Langlade and 369 Gaultier have not enough canoes to bring them to this post.<sup>93</sup> For the Kings service. Mons. Langlade will furnish provisions.

<sup>93</sup> Gautier had been employed during the winter of 1777–78 in visiting the Western tribes and persuading them to join in the campaign the following spring. After great exertions, he had by the seventeenth of May secured only sixty tribesmen. His arrival at Green Bay was not until June 2, when he brought in 210 recruits. On June 6, with Captain Langlade, they set out for Mackinac, whence they were finally dispatched for Montreal late in June—550 warriors in all; see Gautier's *Journal*, and De Peyster's letters, *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, pp. 97–112. Whether these tribesmen spent the summer in Canada, where an invasion from the United States was anticipated, or whether they participated in the raids on the American frontier with the Mohawk and other Iroquois, does not appear. The next document shows that the Menominee were in Montreal in August.— Ed.

At. S. de Peyster , Major Commandant.

Given at Fort of Michilimaquenac , May 10, 1778.

**1778: CERTIFICATE TO THE MENOMINEE CHIEF**

[Testimonial of Frederick Haldimand, governor of Canada,<sup>94</sup> to Chawanon, dated August 17, 1778. Original MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library.]

<sup>94</sup> For a biographical note on Haldimand see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, p. 115. He superseded Carleton as governor of Canada, in June, 1778.— Ed.

Frederick Haldimand , *Captain-General and Governor in Chief of the Province of Quebec, &c. &c. &c. General and Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Forces in said Province, and Frontiers, &c. &c. &c.* 24

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*To Chawanon Grand Chief of the Folles Avoines*<sup>95</sup>

<sup>95</sup> This was the chief known to the Creoles of Green Bay as Old King. His village was on the west side of Fox River, just above the site of Fort Howard. His Indian name was Chakachokama, and the name given in this certificate is the French form of Shawnee. Probably his mother was of that tribe or the name was given in compliment, at some alliance. This chief was doubtless of the family of Ogeemaunee, to whom a certificate was given in 1764; see *ante*. He was grandfather of Oshkosh, and lived until 1821, when he died while on a visit to Prairie du Chien. In his later years he was an imbecile, and his authority was wielded by others, notably members of the Carron family; he was, however, always treated with great respect by his tribe. This certificate was deposited in the Wisconsin Historical Library by the late Louis B. Perlier.— Ed.

In consideration of the Fidelity, zeal and attachment, testified by Chewanon Grand Chief of the Folles Avoines to the Kings Government, and by virtue of the power and authority in me vested, I do hereby confirm the said Chewanon Grand Chief of the Felles Avoines aforesaid having bestowed upon him the Great Medal, willing all and singular the Indians, Inhabitants thereof, to obey him as Grand Chief, and all Officers and others in

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his Majesty's Service to treat him accordingly, Given under my hand and Seal at Arms, at Montreal this Seventeenth Day of August One thousand seven hundred and seventy Eight in the Eighteenth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Third, by the Grace of God of Great Britain, France and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith and so Forth

Fred: Haldimand

By his Excellency's command. E. Foy 96

96 For a brief note on Capt. Edward Foy see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, p. 48. He was at this time acting as secretary for Haldimand, but died early in 1779.— Ed.

HALDIMAND'S CERTIFICATE TO CHAWANON Dated, Montreal, August 17, 1778.  
Reduced facsimile of original

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### 1778: LANGLADE TO REINFORCE HAMILTON

[Letter from De Peyster to Langlade and Gautier, dated Oct. 26, 1778. Reprinted from De Peyster, *Miscellanies*, p. lxx.]

Messieurs—in accordance with the power that has been given me by his Excellency General Haldimand, Commandant in Chief of the Armies of his Majesty the King of Great Britain, in Canada, etc. etc. etc. to do all in my power to assist Lieut. Gov. Hamilton<sup>97</sup> in all his enterprises against the Rebels, and as I have learned by letter from the Lieut. Governor that he has gone to dislodge the Rebels of the Illinois<sup>98</sup> and

<sup>97</sup> Henry Hamilton was of Irish descent, of the family of the Marquis of Boyne. He early entered the army (1754), and was commissioned lieutenant of the 15th in 1756. He served with Amherst at Louisburg, was with Wolfe at Quebec, and later (1761–63) was in the West Indies. His regiment was in England, 1768–76, but in the summer of 1775 Hamilton was in Quebec, being there appointed lieutenant-governor of Detroit. He arrived



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at the latter place Nov. 9 of that year, and was much occupied in counteracting American influence among the neighboring Indians; see Thwaites and Kellogg, *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*. In the autumn of 1778, he advanced against Vincennes and retook the fort from the Americans, only to be captured with all his garrison by Col. George Rogers Clark (February, 1779). Hamilton was sent a prisoner to Virginia, and there kept in close confinement until his exchange in 1780. He then visited England, returning to Canada as lieutenant-governor, 1782–85. In 1790 he was governor of the Bermudas, and four years later of Dominica. During the latter incumbency he died (1796) and was buried on the island.— Ed.

98 Since Langlade's departure for Canada in June, 1778, matters had taken an unexpected turn in the Western country. Col. George Rogers Clark, commissioned by Virginia, had marched from the Falls of Ohio and surprised Kaskaskia (July 4), capturing the commandant and securing the allegiance of the French habitants. In August he held a great council with the northern Indians, and secured many for his allegiance—see certificates to Winnebago and Fox chiefs in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, pp. 133, 177. Pierre Gibault, the Kaskaskia priest, had meanwhile visited Vincennes in the interests of the Americans. He there secured the coöperation of its inhabitants, who took oaths of allegiance; also the alliance of the neighboring Piankashaw Indians. Capt. Leonard Helm was established in charge of this post When the news reached Detroit, Lieut.-Gov. Henry Hamilton determined to go in person to retrieve this disaster, and retake Vincennes; see his correspondence in *Ill. Hist. Colls.*, i, pp. 330–409.— Ed.

372 asks me to give him assistance—you are ordered by these presents to depart and try to arouse the nations. Monsieur Langlade from the Grand River as far as St. Josephe, where are the Court Oreilles and the Ganteaux [Sauteur], causing them to assemble without loss of time at St. Josephe.<sup>99</sup>

99 The Chippewa (Sauteur), and some of the Ottawa from the neighborhood of Mackinac, had long wintered on Grand River, Michigan. Langlade had a trading establishment among

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them as early as 1755; see *ante*, p. 130. The term “Court Oreilles” (short-ears) meant simply natural ears that had not been extended by artificial means. A band of Wisconsin Chippewa is so named at present, whence Lac Court Oreilles. The band here mentioned were Ottawa, as is proven by De Peyster's letter in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, p. 121.— Ed.

Monsieur Gautier will go direct to St. Josephe there addressing himself to Mens. Louison Chevalier<sup>1</sup> in order to require him to assist Monsieur Ainse in assembling the Poutouatamies, while Gautier does his best to obtain Intelligence of the situation of Monsieur Hamilton, making his report thereof to Monsieur Langlade. They will do their best to join him by the shortest route, or descend the Illinois River if it is possible and better calculated to second the operations of Monsieur Hamilton.

1 For the Chevalier family see *ante*, p. 136, note 80. Louis, commonly known as Louison, was born in 1720 and sometime before the close of the French regime settled at St. Josephs. Here he was engaged in trade and agriculture, and had a large establishment, being the principal personage of the settlement. In 1763 he saved the lives of some of the English garrison, and no fort being re-established at this place he became a quasi-commandant, executing the orders of the British officers at Detroit and Mackinac. He was trusted by Do Peyster, but suspected of correspondence with Americans by the latter's successor Sinclair, who had him arrested and sent to Montreal. There he was retained until 1782, after which nothing more is known concerning him. See *post*.— Ed.

As one cannot arrange for operations in case Monsieur Hamilton 373 has given up [his expedition] and returned to Detroit, in such an event if you do not consider yourselves strong enough to make a stroke on the Caskakias, or at the Cahokias, you will send back the savages to their Wintering-grounds and you will regain your different posts by the shortest possible route.

Monsieur Langlade will go to La Bay, and Monsieur Gautier to the Mississippi, and there try to keep the nations well disposed for the service until the arrival of new orders.

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In this enterprise I recommend to you to exhort the Warriors to use Humanity toward the prisoners, and others who are found without arms since there are English traders retained by force among \* \* \*

The prisoners will be ransomed. As the nations have already had in General many presents from his Majesty, you are recommended to incur as little expense as the nature of the service will permit in giving them nothing that is not absolutely necessary.

At. S. de Peyster ,

Major of the Regt. of the King and Comman't at the said post and dependencies.

Given at Fort Michilimaquenac , this 26 October, 1778.

*To Monsr. Captain Langlade and Lieut. Gautier .*

### **1779: CLARK'S OPERATIONS; INDIAN COUNCIL AT MACKINAC**

[Letter from Col. Joseph Bowman to Col. George Rogers Clark, dated Cahokia, June 3, 1779. Original in Draper MSS., 49J49, in Wisconsin Historical Library.]

Kahous June 3d 1779

Dear Sir —By the bearer Mr. [blank in MS.] I have Just received the following Intilgence from Micha 1 . M c anoy [Michilimackinac] who [the above] Informes me that he left that [place] 8 h of April Last with permition to go as far as Labai [La Baye] with orders to Longloid [Langlade] & Gouchey [Gautier] from Maj r . Depoister [De Peyster] forbiding them from Raising aney more Indians against the americans that Maj r 374 Depoister has but forty men and 100 at Detroit by Report, the Indians Informes them of our arney boeing near Detroit that in two days they Can fetch in a scalp from our People, he on his way here receiv d . the kindest treatment from the Indians who seam Intirely dispos d . in our favor he has brought with him a large Quantity of goods that was Conceald to him

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by M r Bentley who was to start in ten days after him in case he could obtain A permitt  
otherways he wood make his Escape the best way he could I begin to be Impatiant to start  
and am In hopes by Next monday to make a move with Every thing from here with hoops  
of finding you all in Readiness for a start which I make not the least doubt of; if in case  
your purchacers has been as buisly Imploy d . as we where, I Expect Mr Shannon back  
Every hour, The weather begins to grow warm & the waters Low so that no time Ought to  
be lost with regaurd to prepareing Every Necessary requird for our Expedetion, pray make  
Every officer Exert himself as I have been oblig d . to do, as much depends on Industery,  
their is maney Thanks to be paid to the Inhabitants here, as they have Spaird their Cattle  
& Horses past Expectation they have furnish d . Every fifth head of Cattle in stead of the  
tenth, which amounts to 80 odd 40 odd Horses [line at bottom of MS. missing] The reason  
of not getting more Flower from this Place is owing to the scarceity, as their has been  
sold out of this town since your Departure from here between twenty and thirty Thousand  
weight I am afraid that Unless you send up a boat for the flower I shall be disappointed  
I have had the offer of severl Bark boats but none of them in order, or strong Enough to  
trust a Load in,

My respects to the Gentlemen officers whilst I Remain D r S r your most Obdt frind & Hum  
le Se r

Jo s BOWMAN

N B in my letter in stead of orders forbiding the Indians to be rais d . against the Americans  
they are cauld for to Micha l . M c anoy to a counsel

Addressed: Col o . George Rogers Clark Command r . in chief of wes trn Depr t  
Kaskaskias pr M r pravoe [Prevost]

Endorsed: Received 5th June 79 Cap tn . Bowman 3d June 1779

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## 1779: EXPEDITION AGAINST ILLINOIS

[Instructions from De Peyster to Langlade, dated July 1, 1779. Original MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library.]

### *Instructions for Mr Langlade*

Sir —you are required, for the good of His Majesty's service, to start from Here and do your best to levy the people of la fourche,<sup>2</sup> Milwaukee,<sup>3</sup> the puants and others along the shore of lake Michigan and with them hasten to join Mr. Bennett<sup>4</sup> at Chicagou; and, if Mr. Bennett has passed on, to follow him by rapid marches so as to catch up to him before he arrives at the

<sup>2</sup> La Fourche was l'Arbre Croche village, where the Ottawa band of the chief La Fourche was situated. For the site of this Indian town see ante, p. 253, note 47. The chief La Fourche was Langlade's uncle; he was an important chieftain as early as 1742. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 372, and De Peyster's chronicle, post.— Ed.

<sup>3</sup> The early history of Milwaukee is yet to be written. The first mention of the name seems to be that of Father Zenobie Membre, who speaks (1680) of a Mascoutin and Fox village on this site. The village here seems always to have been of a mixed character, but in later times was chiefly Potawatomi. Refugee Foxes and Sauks were here in 1741; and French traders were then among them. English traders found their way thither by 1764; thereafter there was almost continuous occupation until the coming of Americans. During the period of the Revolution, the Milwaukee village was in alliance with the American officials of the Illinois, and aided in raids of 1779–81.— Ed.

<sup>4</sup> Lieut. Thomas Bennett was second in command at Mackinac, under De Peyster. His commission in the 8th regiment dated from 1770, and in 1778 he was made adjutant. Promoted to a captaincy in 1783, he retired from the regiment in 1791. The year previous to the date of this document, Bennett had been detailed to take a force to Grand Portage,

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on the northwest shore of Lake Superior, to protect the British merchants there. and incidentally to secure their loyalty, which was in some cases considered doubtful. For his own report of this expedition to the Illinois, which Langlade was ordered to support, see *post*, pp. 398–401.

376 Peé,<sup>5</sup> and work with him for the good of the service in Accordance with the orders he has received from me.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> An abbreviation for Peoria, for which see *ante*, p. 177, note 18. De Peyster speaks in later letters of a fort at this place, but it appears to have been merely a trading centre.—Ed.

<sup>6</sup> This expedition, raised by De Peyster under the command of Langlade and Bennett, was sent out to oppose Clark's projected expedition against Detroit. The latter was to rendezvous at Vincennes, and move up the Wabash; but Col. John Bowman's promised reinforcements from Kentucky being diverted into an enterprise against the Shawnee Indians, and insufficient troops having arrived from Virginia, Clark reluctantly decided that it would be prudent to abandon his project. Meanwhile Godefroy de Linctot had enrolled forty mounted volunteers at Cahokia, to ascend the Illinois to Peoria, cross thence to Ouiatanon, and join Clark in his advance. Linctot successfully accomplished his mission, and by August was at the latter place, with a large concourse of Indians (said to have been 6,000). He sent a messenger to Vincennes for reinforcements, with which he hoped to take St. Josephs. Major Busseron and Capt. James Shelby were detached to his assistance, and reached Ouiatanon by August 24. A party of English, doubtless that of Bennett and Langlade, coming against them, were turned back by Indians, and the garrison at St. Josephs was obliged to abandon that fort, because of native hostility. No presents being forthcoming for the Indian allies, however, they began to fall off, and by October Shelby was again in Vincennes, and the expedition was unproductive of results. This account is derived from the original papers of Clark in the Wisconsin Historical Library-Draper MSS., 49J; see also *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xix, pp. 455, 467.—Ed.

At. S. de Peyster .

Given at Fort Michilimakinac , the 1st of July, 1779.

HENRY HAMILTON Lieutenant-Governor of Detroit. After a portrait in possession of Clarence M. Burton, of Detroit

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**1779: SPEECH TO THE WESTERN INDIANS**

[Rhymed chronicle of De Peyster's speech at l'Arbre Croche, July 4, 1779.<sup>7</sup> Reprinted from De Peyster, *Miscellanies* , pp. 5–15.]

<sup>7</sup> In connection with this expedition of Langlade, detailed in the previous note, De Peyster went in person as far as l'Arbre Croche (see *ante*, p. 375, note 2) to arouse the Indians convened at that place. The speech which he made upon that occasion, he afterwards amused himself by forming into a rhymed chronicle, full of Indian words and technical allusions, most of which he himself explained in accompanying footnotes. The document is a curious medley of terms, but repays study, both for its historical and ethnological value. — Ed.

Great Chiefs, convened at my desire To kindle up this council fire; Which, with ascending smoke,<sup>8</sup> shall burn Till you from war<sup>9</sup> once more return, To lay the axe in earth so deep, That nothing shall disturb its sleep.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> When the war calumet (or pipe) is lit and handed round for everyone to take a whif, in case the smoke rises erect, it is a good omen—and so *vice versa*.—A. S. de P.

<sup>9</sup> From Fort Charters, under the care of British officers, to assist Governor Hamilton, but before they could join him, he had surrendered by convention to the American General, Clark, near the Islenois.—A. S. de P.

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*Comment by Ed.* It is needless to say that this expedition did not succeed in reaching Fort Chartres; but it is less clear how De Peyster should have been mistaken in the purpose thereof. Hamilton was captured at Vincennes, Feb. 25. 1779, and the news reached De Peyster at Mackinac by April 24; see *Ill. Hist. Colls.*, i, p. 432. The object of the expedition of the summer of 1779 is outlined *ante*, note 6.

10 In time of peace the tomahawk is supposed to sleep in the earth.—A. S. de P.

Propitious see bright *Kesis* 11 shine On every warlike son<sup>12</sup> of mine! The Lake<sup>13</sup> is smooth, the roads are even,

11 The Sun.—A. S. de P.

12 The commandant is called father by every friendly tribe.—A. S. de P.

13 Lake Michigan.—A. S. de P.

378 What more is wanting under heaven. To show each tribe, ( *Fox, Wolf and Bear* ,) The *Monitou* 14 makes all his care.

14 The Great Spirit.—A. S. de P.

While thus they smoke t' appear more wise, And call for *milk* 15 to clear their eyes. Y' *Escabias* ,<sup>16</sup> your chiefs disarm, Lest they should do each other harm; Lay by their hatchets, knives and spears. And clear the dust out of their ears,<sup>17</sup> That they may hear what I've to say; Then close them up again with clay, Or, drive all *bad birds* 18 far away,

15 New England rum, which they call mother's milk, and drink it to excess, when it is dangerous to leave them armed.—A. S. de P.

16 The aid-de-camps, who disarm their chiefs.—A. S. de P.



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17 When Indians will not listen to your talk, they say that their ears are either filled with dust or clay.—A. S. de P.

18 The enemy's emissaries are so called.—A. S. de P.

I know you have been told by Clark,<sup>19</sup> His riflemen ne'er miss the mark; In vain you hide behind a tree, If they your finger's tip can see, —The instant they have got their aim Enrolls you on the list of lame. But, then, my sons, this boaster's rifles, To those I have in store, are trifles; If you but make the tree your mark, The ball will twirl beneath the bark, 'Till it one-half the circle find, Then out and kill the man behind.<sup>20</sup>

19 For a brief biographical sketch of George Rogers Clark, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, pp. 113. 114.—ed.

20 The Indians being a very credulous people, it becomes necessary to give the enemy a Rolland for their Oliver.—A. S. de P.

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Clark says, with *Louis* in alliance, He sets your father at defiance. That he, too, hopes, ere long, to gain Assistance from the King of Spain, When he will come unto this place, And put your *Nossa* <sup>21</sup> to disgrace— Like Matchiquis, at foot-ball sport,<sup>22</sup> With arms concealed, surprised his fort; Compel him, sword in hand, to fall, Or ship him off for Montreal; When at the straits,<sup>23</sup> sly *Maskeash* Will shoot each flying *Sagenash* .<sup>24</sup> Suppose awhile his threats prove true, My children! What becomes of you? Your sons,—your daughters,—and your wives— Must they be hacked with these big knives?<sup>25</sup> Sure you have heard the aged tell, How Ferdinand and Isabella Their empty coffers filled with gold?— The story makes my blood run cold— Their war-chiefs hunted down with hounds, And covered o'er with ghastly wounds All such as did not dare oppose The first invasion of their foes?— Then, will you like the Mexicans,

21 Indian name for Father, when speaking of the commandant in council.—A. S. De P.

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22 Under pretence of playing, he kicked the ball over the fort picquets, rushed in with his band, and accomplished his purpose.—A. S. De P.

*Comment by Ed.* A reference to the fall of Fort Michillimackinac in 1763. For this chieftain, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii, pp. 188–194.

23 The Straits leading from Lake Sinclair (St Clair) to Lake Huron—A. S. De P.

24 Indian name for an Englishman.—A. S. de P.

25 A name for their American enemies, particularly the Virginians.—A. S. De P.

380 Await the *Kitchimokomans* ;26 Or show yourselves more brave and wise, Ere they are joined by such allies? Clark, soon repulsed, will ne'er return, While your war-fire thus clear doth burn.27 Exert yourselves, therefore, while you Are favored by the *Manitou* , Else smoke will erase to greet the skies, Sad omens yield such sacrifice!— In vain shall medicine kettles boil,28 They'll not repay the juggler's toil; Each path would soon be covered o'er With briars, stones, and human gore, While troubled waters lash the shore. Observe the wretched Kickapoose;29 What have they gained by Lenctot's news?30 The *Ottogams*, *Piercas* and *Sacks* ,31 Have scarce a blanket to their backs. Old *Carminees'* *Weenippegoes* ,32 Want fuzees, powder, ball and clothes, And skulk in dens, lest old Langlade33

26 The Indian name for big knives.—A. S. de P.

27 The war-fire burning clear is one of the good omens.—A. S. de P

28 The jugglers boil up ingredients as a sacrifice, before the war party sets out, in hopes of a good omen.—A. S. de P.

29 A nation inhabiting the Wabash country.—A. S. de P.

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30 A runagate Frenchman, who used to communicate every favourable event attending the enemy.—A. S. de P.

*Comment by Ed.* For this officer see *ante*, p. 376, note 6.

31 Three nations inhabiting the ground betwixt La Baye and the Mississippi. The Sacks are by some pronounced Saukies.—A. S. de P.

32 A sensible old chief, at the head of a refractory tribe.—A. S. de P.

*Comment by Ed.* A prominent Winnebago chief whose name is properly spelled Karrymaunee. There was a long line of chiefs by this name, one of whom in 1832 had a village near Baraboo.

33 A French officer, who had been instrumental in defeating General Braddock, gained over to the British cause by Colonel D. P., which secured all the Western Indians in our interest.—A. S. de P.

381 Should give their heads the batonade; These suck their paws, like Northern bears,  
Exposing nothing but their ears, To hear if *Gautier de Verville* 34 Doth crave assistance  
from *Lafeuille* Or, if the *Chippewas* of the plains, Draw near to *Wabashaa's* 35 domains.  
While none on earth live more at ease, Than *Carong's* 36 brave *Menomenies* .

34 Langlade's companion—they were both appointed captains.—A. S. de P.

35 The great *Scioux* chief.—A. S. de P.

*Comment by Ed.* His French title was La Feuille; for a brief sketch see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 323.

36 A very clever fellow, chief of the nation of Minominees, the handsomest man among the Indians.—A. S. de P.

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Let *Nonocassee* styled the Beau,<sup>37</sup> Still fear to meet the threatening foe; With  
Petouiwiskam<sup>38</sup> and his squa, Shove off his boat for Sagulna. To lay neglet lines and set  
salt snares,<sup>39</sup> For cat-fish,<sup>40</sup> trout, and timorous hares: To dry wild meat and *hull* their  
corn, Which you will eat when you return.

37 A perfect Thersites, and a great fop.—A. S. de P.

38 The fop's father, an old fellow in league with the French and Virginians.—A. S. de P.

39 A thread, dipped in brine, is laid from the trap across their tracks, which they are so  
fond of licking, that it conducts them to their fate.—A. S. de P.

40 Cat-fish weigh from 10 to 90, and trout from 10 to 60 lbs.—A. S. de P.

Such men are fit for warriors' slaves, Whose sons shall p — — s upon their graves. 'Till not  
one painted stake appear<sup>41</sup>

41 In the manner of a head-stone.—A. S. de P.

382 To tell whose bones lay rotting there. While o'er each war chief's sacred grave,  
The British union flag shall wave; And, on its staff, a row of nicks, Or more descriptive  
hieroglyphics, Denote the feats performed by those Who did not fear to meet their foes.<sup>42</sup>

42 Nicks or notches denote the number of times they have been to war, and they often  
carve hieroglyphical characters thereon.—A. S. de P.

The French, my sons, are not your friends, They only mean to serve their ends! In this  
alliance lately made Their aim is our tobacco trade. I heard *Gebau* <sup>43</sup> say, 'tis no sin To  
sell each pound, one otter-skin: This priest cares not how dear he sells, To those he styles  
poor infidels; Who can't afford to light a pipe, Until the *Sackagoming's* ripe; *Sumack* , red  
wood, and such stuff, Too mild, unmixed, to smoke or snuff.<sup>44</sup>

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43 A profligate trading missionary, who had resided long amongst the Western Indians, and made few converts.—A. S. de P.

*Comment by Ed.* For a brief sketch of Father Pierre Gibault see *ante*, p. 292, note 14.

44 The bark of the tree of that name, which, with sumac and red wood the Indians scrape fine and mix with tobacco, or some times smoke without mixing.—A. S. de P.

The French, I say, by this convention, To all this country waive pretension! See, here, I hold it in my hand, While *Clark* would have you understand He only seeks to mount this bench— To counsel for his friends—the French; 382 Who're still in hopes, ere long, to check The British arms,—to storm Quebec, And seize the key of that great door, Through which all merchandise must pour; For, while Britannia rules the main, No goods can come from France or Spain; “Be sure this part you well explain.”<sup>45</sup> Shall France, then, send to spoil your lands, And councils hold with empty hands? No! Interest bids you all oppose Those empty-handed *Parlevous* .

45 Spoken to Mr. Ainse, the Indian interpreter.—A. S. de P.

To Detroit, Linctot bends his way; I therefore turn you from the *Pey* 46 To intercept the chevalier.<sup>47</sup> At Fort St. Joseph's<sup>48</sup> and *O Post* ,<sup>49</sup> Go,—lay in ambush, for his host, While I send round Lake Michigan, To raise the warriors—to a man;— Who, on their way to get to you, Shall take a peep at—at *Eschickagou* ,<sup>50</sup> *Eghittawas* <sup>51</sup> smiles at the notion Of *Kissegouit* , brave *Neotochin* , Swift Neogad, fierce Scherroschong, And Glode, the son of Vieux Carong,<sup>52</sup>

46 A small fort on the Islenois River.—A. S. de P.

47 A nickname.—A. S. de P.

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48 At the head of the river of that name, where the Pottawatamies have a fort and large settlement.—A. S. de P.

49 Post St. Vincent (Vincennes), so called.—A. S. de P.

50 A river and fort at the head of Lake Michigan.—A. S. de P.

*Comment by Ed.* There was no fort at Chicago at this period, although a trading house existed on the site.

51 A staunch friend to the British cause, gained over by the commandant of Michilimackinac.—A. S. de P.

52 These chiefs were Ottawa and Menominee, in alliance with the British. For Neogad, an Ottawa, see *Ill. Hist. Colls.*, 1, p. 356. For Glode, eldest son of Carron (see *ante*, p. 364, note 85), see "Grignon's Recollections" in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii. He was born about 1739, served as a youth in the battles at Quebec (1759); succeeded his father as chief in 1780; and died in northwest Wisconsin in 1803.—Ed.

384 Those runagates at Milwakie,<sup>53</sup> Must now *per* force with you agree, Must with Langlade their forces join; Sly Siggenaak and Naakewoin, Or, he will send them *tout au diable*, As he did Baptist *Point de Saible*.<sup>54</sup>

53 A horrid set of refractory Indians.—A. S. de P.

*Comment by Ed.* The Potawatomi settlement at Milwaukee appears to have originated from a migration from St. Josephs in about 1769. The principal chief was Siggenauk (or Blackbird), termed Letourneau by the French. He visited Clark at Kaskaskia soon after its capture, and entered into alliance with the Americans, hence this disparagement by De Peyster. Siggenauk took part in the Spanish expedition of 1781, and thereafter appears to have been hostile to the Americans, participating in the several Indian wars and signing Wayne's treaty (1795). Before the War of 1812–15 he resided in the Peoria region, and

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was the chief actor in the Chicago massacre of 1812. He died probably about 1815. Do Peyster attempted to secure his person in the autumn of this year (1779), but the plan failed; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, p. 210.

54 A handsome negro, well educated (and settled at Eschecagou), but much in the French interest.—A. S. de P.

*Comment by Ed.* Jean Baptiste Point de Sable was a free mulatto, said to be from San Domingo. He had settled at Chicago as a trader some time before this date. Langlade seems to have arrested him in the spring of 1779, on charge of acting with the Americans. Later, he was again at Chicago, and remained until about the close of the eighteenth century, when he sold out his improvements and removed to the neighborhood of Peoria. He did not die until after 1809.

And now the convert *Miamies* , Must join the *Pottawatamies* ;— Who're all true Catholics in religion, Yet, as Mohamet let his pigeon, Let those who call our bad birds here, Whisper rebellion in their ear.

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No wonder, then, their list'ner's stray'd From what they should have done or said! Thus *Pettagouschac* 55 said he'd take The French King's part, for conscience sake; And that,— because the priest Gebau Cajoled him with a petted crow.

55 The great chief of the Pottawatamies, who had a Romish chapel built in his village.—A. S. de P.

Pray, did not *Brieant* 56 Quebec's Bishop, Absolving those who threw their fish up, Make reverend priests stands centinel, And for *Amen cry*, *All is well* ! Eat pork in Lent, 'gainst popish laws, To serve your English father's cause. Should he then care if fish or meat, St. Joseph's tawny sons do eat; Or if the Twigg twees chant the mass, Brieant would prove himself an ass. You say, the fiery Mascoutans<sup>57</sup> Won't strike the *Kitchiemokomans* !<sup>58</sup> No

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Mascoutin drinks from my barrel, 'Till he espouse his father's quarrel; Nor shall he have an asseyan ,59 Though he's exposed a naked man.

56 The Bishop of Quebec espoused the British cause most heartily, when Quebec was besieged in 1763 [1775].—A. S. de P.

57 Mascoutin signifies fire—they were, by the French, called *Gens de feu*.—A. S. de P.

58 The Virginians.—A. S. de P.

59 The Indians wear no breeches, but what might properly be called small-clothes—a small strip of blue cloth fixed to a belt, to answer the purpose of a fig bag.—A. S. de P.

Say, have you wanted *milk* 60 to drink, Since your old friends, the Nippisink,61 25

60 New England rum, called mother's milk.—A. S. de P.

61 Indians inhabiting the borders of the Lake Nippisink.—A. S. de P.

386 With belts and strings,62 for aid did call, To drive the foe from Montreal?63 When at, the Lake of the Two Mountains; You thought it was supplied by fountains; Wherewith you got that night so *squiby* [drunk], That you were forced next day to lie by; While Franklin, Worster and their friends, Wrought hard that day to gain their ends; Which done, they escaped o'er Lake Champlain,64 While, sheltered from the wind and rain Canoes turned up and baggage under,65 You lay retrenched with British plunder.66

62 Accompanied with letters from M. Matavit and other priests, the Bishop's friends.—the belts and strings are what the Indians hold talks upon; a kind of bead turned out of the heart and other hard parts of the clam shell.—The white are for peace; the blue, when wrought with a figure of the tomahawk thereon, signify war.—A.S. de P.

63 Doctor Franklin and General Worster.—A. S. de P.



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64 Referring to the American campaign in Canada, in the spring of 1776. Benjamin Franklin headed the commission from Congress, and arrived at Montreal April 30, remaining but ten days. Gen. David Wooster of Connecticut was appointed (April 1, 1776) commander-in-chief in Canada, and conducted the retreat of the American army. Relieved from command he was killed in a skirmish in Connecticut in 1777.— Ed.

65 The Indians never travel in rainy weather, but turn their canoes up, and shelter themselves and their baggage under.—A. S. de P.

66 Here the whole council rose hastily, and seemed to menace the Colonel, but soon sat down again.—A. S. de P.

Nay, call to mind the preparations You made me make with your orations; Resolving, ere you went, that I Would to each village have an eye; And that by no means I'd retrench What was allowed you by the French. (When you went down, on like occasion, 387 To aid *Vaudreul* 'gainst *Wolfe*'s invasion,67 Which with your tour to save Carillion [Crown Point], And Fort Du Quesne, cost France a million.

67 They were then in the French interest, and commanded by Monsieur de Langlade, as they are now in the English interest, commanded by de Langlade and Gautier, since Col. D. P. had gained them over.—A. S. de P.

I still preserve your memorandum, 'Twould strike Sir Guy or Haldimand68 dumb; Which, for good reasons, I think meet, In this grand council to repeat! Smoked red-deer skins, for warriors' shoes,— *Item* —large birch-bark, north canoes,69 Masts, halliards, sails, flags, oars and paddles, Broaches, medals, bridles, saddles, Large rolls of bark, awls, watap,70 gum, Lines, sponges, pipes, tobacco, rum, Guns, powder, shot, fire-steel and flint, Salt pork and biscuit, without stint; Rich arm bands, gorgets and nose bobs, Made of French Crowns and Spanish cobs; Lac'd coats, chintz shirts, plum'd hats for chiefs, And for your beaux, silk handkerchiefs,71

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68 Commanders-in-chief who had passed the Colonel's accounts, and thanked him for having been greatly the means of saving Canada.—A. S. de P.

69 North canoes are of better workmanship, and made very large, in order to carry a great quantity of goods beyond the Lake Superior.—A. S. de P.

70 Pine roots, for sewing bark canoes.—A. S. de P.

71 Some of the young chiefs will wear a dozen silver gorgets, one below the other. The laced coat is made very large, of the best scarlet cloth, richly laced, which they put over a flowered chintz shirt, open at the neck and wrists and round their waists, having no breeches on. Their hats are plumed around the rim; and the silk kerchiefs, hanging half out of the pocket, never used.—All this costly dress is on days of ceremony only, and easily thrown off.—A. S. de P.

388 Paint, 72 mirrors, blankets, moultings, strouds, To clothe the living and make shrouds  
For those who might in battle fall, Or die by rum, at Montreal. You made me likewise,  
close the graves Of war-chiefs, slain with Panis slaves; 73 Clothe each child, old men and  
women, Give nets, hooks, lines, grease and mandamin; 74 Knives, scizzars, combs, hoes,  
hatchets, spears, And kegs of *milk* to dry their tears, At thy request, great Nissowaquet, 75  
I gave your young men *sissobaquet*, Which on their journey they did brew, 76 Into  
refreshing *eau-battu*; (Which kept thy sons too, Kitchienago, 77 From fluxes and the  
*ouzebenago* [ague], Which all are subject to, who drink The water of Lake Nippisink.)  
This gave them strength to work their way To where Burgoine's lost army lay. I saw each  
separate chief's provisions Divided to prevent divisions 'Twixt the Ottawa and Chipp'wa  
nations, Long used to filch each other's rations;— And now agree to the same thing,

72 The expenditure for vermillion is enormous.—A. S. de P.

73 Prisoners taken by the Ottawas and Chippewas, from the Pants nation, bordering the Mississippi.—A. S. de P.

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74 Maise or Indian corn, which they plant by hoeing hills on the ground, wherein they plant five grains each.—A. S. de P.

75 The Ottawa chief—A. S. de P.

*Comment by Ed. Nissowaquet*, called La Fourche by the French, was the appellation of a line of Ottawa chieftains, one of whom was Langlade's uncle. This latter was a prominent chief in 1742. The name is mentioned in documents of 1797 and 1835.

76 Maple sugar, which they beat up in water, and call it brewing.—A. S. de P.

77 The Chippewa chief of the Island Michilimackinack.—A. S. de P.

389 If you, my sons, will serve the King; And take in hand the *bogomagen*, 78 The work of Old Cawishagen, (Great uncle to bold Matchiquis, 79 Who never more will do amiss), Curiously wrought with heads of beasts, True emblems of the warrior's feast.

78 The war club.—A. S. de P.

79 The same that surprised the fort in 1763.—A. S. de P.

See Jinquis-Tawanong *strike the post*, 80 Too old to fight, but not to boast "When I was young, and I could see, "I trailed this up the Miamie, "The Wabash and the Missouri. "From these lank loins have sprung two boys, "Shall trail it through the Islenois, "And make it rattle o'er the stones "Where uninterred lay *Pondiac's* 81 bones. "Whiles I at home the village guard, "And *scuttawaba's* 82 my reward." 83

80 Jinquis Tawanong was the old Ottawa speaker. To strike the post, is to make a stroke against anything with the club, before he relates his feats, and those of his ancestors, which are handed down from generation to generation.—A. S. de P.

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81 The great chief killed at Fort Charters, and dragged over the rocks upon the strand, tied to a horse's tail.—A. S. de P.

82 Rum, here called hot water.—A. S. de P.

*Comment by Ed.* "Fire-water" is a better rendition of the word.

83 A general shout.—A. S. de P.

Sage Quiouygoushkam<sup>84</sup> leads the band, With Massisanguoin, hand in hand; Deaf Schawanissie<sup>85</sup> close the rear, Whose name the rebels love and fear;

84 The most subtile of all the chiefs.—A. S. de P.

85 An excellent man, who carried an American officer upon his back for many miles, after he had wounded him, and delivered him safe into the British hospital.—A. S. de P.

390 King Nissowaque wills it so, Approved by stern Kenoctigo, Fleet Yabe, and strong Windigo.

The smooth-tongued Benessw'abeme, The smiling young Apesbabe, Schenowishkawa, whose lodge gives grace,<sup>86</sup> *Amiable*, with a lovely face,— Half Indian, half Canadian race. Tawakoney and Mitchekain, Whose sires by Yankey rum were slain; Neogema, Igomenon, The bearded<sup>87</sup> Tecamessimon, All Arbercrosh and Kishkacon;<sup>88</sup> Ogocee, Oga and Jinguak, Shall trail the Chippewa tomahawk.<sup>89</sup> These Kitchinæaego recommends To be your father's faithful friends; While shouts proclaim the Sachem's choice, To be my children's common voice. And I this war-belt<sup>90</sup> have decreed, To him who does the noblest deed, Who strikes no blow but in the field, And spares the lives of all that yield.

86 A devoted prisoner may take sanctuary in his wigwam or hut.—A. S. de P.

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87 A very unusual circumstance. as the Indians, by the help of a wire in form of a screw, take out all hairs but what cover the crown of the head.—A. S. de P.

88 Two Indian villages.—A. S. de P.

89 Wrought in a war-belt, which those who carry it are said to trail.—A. S. de P.

90 A large belt, called the war-belt of reward, consisting of 12,000 heads of wampum. Here the Colonel took another opportunity of informing the chiefs that prisoners were fair game, but if any of their young warriors scalped even any of the dead during this war, they must never expect he would look upon them again.—Whereupon they gave a general shout of approbation.—A. S. de P.

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### **1779: SOUTHWESTERN EXPEDITION**

[Letter from De Peyster to General Haldimand. Reprinted from *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections* , ix, p. 390.]

Michilimackinac , 9th July, 1779.

Sir —On the 29th June I acquainted Your Excellency that I was sending off a party towards the Pee Since which I received from St. Josephs (which they had from the Illinois so late as the 28th of May), that the Rebels were in great forwardness to march with 700 men to the Wabash against Detroit, and that one Linctot is to march 400 horse by St. Josephs.

In consequence of this intelligence I have detached Lieutenant Bennet who went off the next day with twenty soldiers, about 60 Traders and Canoe Indians to endeavour to intercept Linctot, or attempt anything in that Quarter which may be conducive to distress the Rebels. The numbers of Indians will daily increase. Allowing the whole of this report

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to be false the Movement will still answer a good purpose as it will secure the wavering Indians particularly the Pottawatamies, keep up the spirit of the inhabitants of Detroit Settlement and greatly deter the Rebels from any attempt that way seeing they are much disturbed in thinking that the Indians would remain neuter & let them pass. I have purchased the Welcome & let her stay with provisions and some goods to enable Mr. Bennet to speak to the Pottawatimies, Mascoutins, Quicapoues, and Miamis.

I have the honor to be

A. S. De Peyster .

[Letter from De Peyster to Haldimand. Source, same as preceding document, but p. 391.]

Michilimackinac 21st July 1779.

Sir —The Bearer of this Letter St. Paul, goes down to Montreal to fetch up Canoes and provisions to enable him to send down his pack, such is the necessity of quitting the place to the great prejudice of His Majesty's Service. I wrote to Detroit 392 on this subject and hope this reasonable request will not be refused. No vessel as yet sent this year from that Quarter. I once sent the Sloop Welcome thither and she returned since which I am obliged to employ her on Lake Michigan. It would be necessary for the good of the Service (If your Excellency thought proper) to order a vessel to ply constantly twixt the two places, in the situation we are in at present. The Indians are in constant alarm, and are often much [so] persuaded Detroit is taken that they are ready to leave their habitations. So much are they exposed to the impositions of designing people, which I have not in my power to contradict for want of more frequent intelligence. The commanding officer at Detroit gives me all the intelligence he receives. But to hear often that all is well would be most essential service in the management of Indians.

The last accounts from Lieut. Bennet say that the Indians join the Collier de Guerre [War-belt] fast; it is a yard and a half in length, and has a great medal tied to it as a reward

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for him who does the greatest action free from cruelty. The other Chiefs on the March received strings of Wampum from Linctot, who requests of them to remain neuter, and let him pass to Detroit with a body of Horse. They sent me the strings and detained his Messenger. Some Indians are just returned from the falls of the Ohio where the Rebels have a Fort. they killed four of their Soldiers but did not scalp them. whilst they were thus employed another band from their Village (i.e. the Grand River) upon a visit to the Rebels at Kaskaskias, they met on their return and shewed three Kegs of Rum, but declared they got no other presents. such is the traffic carried on by many nations at present.

If your Excellency has not thought proper to order me to Detroit, or to give me leave of absence altogether I must in such case request as a favor you will allow me to pass the ensuing winter at Quebec to leave this when the Indians return to their wintering Ground, and all the communication with the rest of the world draws to a close, and should you find it necessary, I will return here early in the Spring. I have the honor to be &c.

A. S. De Peyster

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[Letter from De Peyster to Haldimand. Source same as preceding document, but pp. 391, 392.]

Michilimackinac 9th August, 1779.

Sir —I have accounts that Clark is on the March to the Ouiat [anon] with 500 men followed by 200 Oxen, the remainder of his provisions to go up the Ohio and Wabashe. Linctot marches with a party from the pey [Peoria] to join him at the Ouiat or Miamis, their object is said to be Detroit. I believe by this time we have 500 Indians on the look out to harass them on their March and endeavour to draw them into an ambuscade, which I have ordered to be laid for them. I have sent off Matchiquis & his band with Lieut Cloves [Clowes]<sup>91</sup> to join Mr. Benet. I am Sir &c.

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91 Lieut. George Clowes joined the 8th infantry, as ensign, in 1770. Shortly after arriving in America he was stationed at Mackinac, probably coming up with De Peyster in 1774. His service upon the upper lakes lasted until 1784. Upon the removal of De Peyster to Detroit, Clowes, then lieutenant, was left in command of the two companies. of the 8th, in garrison at Mackinac. He also acted as assistant engineer and paymaster. In 1784 he joined his regiment at Quebec, and returned to England. There he was promoted to a captaincy in 1786, and either died or retired in 1791.— Ed.

A. S. De Peyster

[Letter from De Peyster to Haldimand. Source same as preceding document but p. 392.]

Michilimackinac 13th August, 1779.

Sir —I have just received the annexed Letter from Lieutenant Benet, I must observe to your Excellency that when Mr. Benet wrote it, the sloop was not arrived at St. Joseph's River with Lieut Clowes and Matchequis and his band, nor was Langlade arrived with his Indians, said to be three hundred, but they must have arrived in two or three days after what effect their arrival will have I know not but it is to be hoped the Weenippigoes & Menomies will change the law of affairs there as they are naturally more brave than the Ottawas, and know 394 they are not to have goods sent amongst them unless they strike the enemy. should they also misbehave I hope you see the necessity of curtailing the presents,—one hundred men more at this post would render it independent of the Indians. I have the honor to be &c

A.S. De Peyster

[Letter from Lieut. Thomas Bennett to Major de Peyster, enclosed with preceding letter. Source, same as that document, but pp. 292, 393.]

St. Joseph's 9th Augt. 1779.



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Sir —In my last I informed you what fine Speeches the Pottawatamies made me. two days afterwards a Chief called the Petit Bled from Nipicons, came at the Head of the Different Bands of the Pottewatamies, & told me what was said before his arrival was without any other design but mere compliment, but he was now come to see his pure sentiments, that, they returned the detested hatchet and Pipe, which were brought here only to render their Villages miserable, he said they desired tranquility but still insists that he held sacred the hatchet of his former father the French King & would never quit it. as soon as he returned to his Vilage, the others came and made an apology for their Insolence, I gave them an answer such as I thought they deserved. Our Scouts have all been frightened back by Indian Reports, they seem all to be debauched by the thoughts of a French War.

We have not Twenty Indians in our Camp who are not prepairing for leaving us, I believe you will join with me when I say they are a set of treacherous Poltroons, even Kewigushkum himself told the Pottewatamies that he did not come here with his own consent, but that he and his whole Village were drove to it, this in consequence of threats from the Poteawatamies Belts to the Ottawas and us. Mr. Bobie,<sup>92</sup> an officer in Capt.

<sup>92</sup> Charles Beaubien belonged to the family noted *ante*. p. 235, note 16. He was official interpreter for the Miami, and although accused by Lieut.-Governor Hamilton of treachery and collusion with the Americans, cleared himself and retained the confidence of his superiors. He appears to have been the most influential white resident of Fort Miami, and until the close of the Revolution was much employed in treaties and councils. In 1780 he aided in repelling the attack of De la Balme. He married the widow of the chief Richardville, but left no children.— Ed.

<sup>395</sup> Lernoults<sup>93</sup> dept. at the Miamis has joined us to offer his service. he says that there are not fifty Rebels at Post Vincent, that Mr. Linctot passed by the trail toward the River Blanche to join the Rebel army at the Illinois, Mr. Le Gras<sup>94</sup> Commanded their horse (for by all accounts they do not deserve the name of cavalry) who do not proceed by this way by what I am informed.

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93 Richard Berringer Lernoult was in 1756 commissioned lieutenant of the 8th infantry. Eleven years later he became captain, and in 1771 came to America. His detachment was in 1773 sent to Detroit, where he remained as commander of troops, while Hamilton acted as lieutenant-governor. On the latter's departure for Vincennes (1778), Lernoult became commandant, but was relieved by De Peyster in November, 1779. Upon reaching Quebec, Lernoult was promoted to a majority, and served as Haldimand's adjutant-general until 1783, when he became major of his regiment. Returning to England in 1784, he left the army two years later.— Ed.

94 J. M. P. Legras was a prominent merchant of Vincennes, who had been captain of militia under the British regime. Upon the advent of the Americans, he supported them heartily with all his influence and fortune. In June, 1779, John Todd appointed him president of the local court at Vincennes. and he had from Clark first a major's, later a colonel's, commission for the militia. He held court at Vincennes as late as 1786. An original letter in the Draper MSS., 50J154, shows that he was a man of considerable education, and conversant with the English language.— Ed.

Baptiste Point au Sable I hare taken into custody, he hopes to make his conduct appear to you spotless, he told me Mr. Linctot was at the Pee with about thirty men, when he left it, but was immediately to set off for the Ouiat, which agrees with the account of Mr. Bobie.

As we have no account of an Enemy near us unless treacherous Indians, I would immediately return to Michilimackinac did I not think myself obliged to wait Capt. Lernoult's answer, 396 whether he wants us at or near Detroit, I have deceived him much with respect to our numbers, I thought I could depend more upon the Ottawas, however I have the pleasure to tell you that French and English are all well in Spirits, & only wait for an order to march.

I have no complaint against the Mississequis only their being in such a hurry to leave us. Nibeingushkam and his Friend the old Greyheaded Chippewa stole off without giving

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us the least notice. They complain that you sent them naked from Michilimackinac & I suppose they will make the same complaint to you of me, notwithstanding they have all been clothed.

We are luckily well intrenched. I am Sir Your Most humble Servant

Thos. Bennett,

Lieut & Adjut of the Kings Regimt.

*To Major De Peyster .*

[Letter from De Peyster to Haldimand. Source, same as preceding document, but pp. 393, 394.]

Michilimackinac 23rd August 1779.

Sir .—I am favored with your Excellencys letter of the 3rd July, and return you thanks for the honor done me in the good opinion you are pleased to entertain of my conduct during a long command at this post. 59

94 For this letter see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, pp. 138, 139. De Peyster had commanded at Mackinac since 1774.— Ed.

I am very happy to hear that you send Captain Sinclair to relieve me.<sup>96</sup>

96 For biography of Capt. Patrick Sinclair see *Ibid*, p. 141, note 1.— Ed.

I lately acquainted you that Lieut Clowes was gone with the Sloop Welcome to join Lieut Bennett he proceeded as far as the mouth of the [St. Joseph's] River, where he was overtaken by a Trader sent from Lieut Bennett, to acquaint him he was at a place called Kikanimaso, fifteen leagues away this side the river on his way home. That he had waited Twenty days for an answer to his Express sent to Detroit, which was not yet returned, and

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as all the scouts were returned without having seen 397 the enemy, both Canadians and Indians grew homesick, and desired to come back, that seeing the Indians were filing off fast, he was obliged to leave St. Joseph's the 14th instant. Some pottawatamies came to Mr. Bennett to apologise for the behaviour of their nation.

Two young chiefs are just arrived, and say that they have scouted as far as the Ouiat, but heard of no Rebels on their March, that there were few at the Ouiat, and did not exceed three hundred at the Isle aux Noir [Illinois] Virginians and as many Creoles, which was told them (near the Ouiat) by Indians who had lately been at Fort Charters. When Mr. Bennet arrives I shall be able to give a more particular account of this *Decouvert*. The Indians say that the noise of their movement deterred the Rebels from advancing, I could wish however that themselves had advanced a little farther. I am in hopes this fall that Mr. Sinclair will be able to collect some corn, as there are so few Traders here, but when Trade flourishes, this place is obliged to have recourse to Detroit.

I have the honor to be &c

A. S. De Peyster .

[Letter from Do Peyster to Haldimand, inclosing Lieutenant Bennett's report. Source, same as preceding document, but pp. 394–397.]

Michilimackinac 4th September 1779.

Sir —I have the honor to acquaint your Excellency that Lieut. Bennett is returned from St. Joseph's. The enclosed paper is a Journal of his *Decouverté*, which I have thought best to transmit for your information.

I have to observe that the provisions from hence arrived at the river St. Joseph's at the time fixed, so that nothing could be wanting from this Quarter to have enabled him to

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derive every advantage from his Journey thither, and had the enemy advanced, I am persuaded, that no officer of his Rank would have acquitted himself with more honor.

I yesterday had a Council with the Ottawas, and have made 398 them most heartily ashamed of their impatience. I have the honor to be &c.

A. S. De Peyster.

*Lieut. Bennett's Report.*

Michilimackinac , Sept. 1st 1779.

Sir —In pursuance to your orders I took post at St. Joseph's on the twenty third day of July before the Potawatimies were assembled. I threw up an entrenchment sufficient to oppose a superior number of savages, in case their intention should be to insult or surprize us.

The Potawatamies of St. Joseph's, of the Petit Coeur de Cerf, and the Terre Coupée<sup>97</sup> were ye first who visited us. they declared their Intentions to be to assist us in every thing, that lay in their powers, and promised that they would always look upon the enemies of their Father the King of England as theirs.

<sup>97</sup> Three Potawatomi villages. The first was situated near the fort, probably on the west side of the river; the last on what is now known as Terre Coupée prairie, in the northwestern corner of the present St. Joseph County, Ind.— Ed.

I, as soon as possible, sent out parties of the Ottawas and Chippewas with some of the Potawatamies and Volunteers to the Pee, the Ouia, and the Miamis to endeavour to get some intelligence of the Enemy, and if possible to bring Prisoners or to distress them in any other manner they might think most eligible.

The Party ordered to the Pee returned back in two days to all appearance frightened by the threat and persuasions of some of the Potawatamies they met on the road.

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The Detachment to the Ouia in five or six days also returned much in the same situation, and at the same time informed me that there was but a few Canadians (residents) at the place and no appearance of an Enemy in that Quarter.

Nothing extraordinary from the Miamis.

Three days after my arrival at St. Joseph's, I also sent an Express to Captain Lernoult informing him of the Disposition 399 of the Savages (at least as it appeared to me) and beg'd to know if I could render him any service either with my own Party, or in conjunction with any other he might send to join me from Detroit.

I had the Negro Baptiste point au Sable brought Prisoner from the River Du Chemin,<sup>98</sup> Corporal Tascon who commanded the Party very prudently prevented the Indians from burning his house, or doing him any injury, he secured his Packs &c which he takes with him to Michilimackinac, the Negro since his imprisonment has in every respect behaved with [as] becoming a man in his situation, and has many friends, who give him a good character. He informed me that Mr. Linctot some time before had left the Pee, with thirty Canadians to join Mr. Clarke, at the falls of the River Blanche, to go to the Ouia, which intelligence was afterwards confirmed.

<sup>98</sup> It would appear from this and preceding documents that Baptiste Point du Sable was driven from Chicago by Langlade, probably in the spring of 1779; that he removed his effects to Rivière du Chemin, now known as Trail Creek, at whose mouth is Michigan City, Indiana; and that he was there taken into custody by Lieutenant Bennett, and transported to Mackinac.— Ed.

The Potawatamies, Head[ed] by the Petit Bled Chief of the Village [of] Nipicons, repent of their fair proimises they made me, returned the Pipe & Belt I gave them and declined engaging in a war in which their French father is concerned, and as soon as I left the Counsel I was informed that Kusigushkan (Chief of the Ottawas)<sup>99</sup> told the Petit Bled that

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the Ottawas were forced much against their Inclinations to join the English on the present occasion, that upon their leaving Arbre Croche they were determined not to go further than St. Joseph's and seemed to coincide with him in his opinion, should the French take a part in the War.

99 This must be the chief whom, in his chronicle, De Peyster calls Quiouygoushkam.—  
Ed.

The Ottawas want[ed] much to return, not choosing to Disappoint Captain Lernoult, should he have form'd any plan in consequence of the favorable account I gave him of the Indians, 400 I desire[d] them to stay till I hear from him (of which I was in daily expectation, my express having been sent off fourteen days, from St. Joseph's) with great reluctance they consented to remain three days demanding at the same time five Cags of Rum when the time was expir'd finding I would not stir till I could hear from Captain Lernoult, a part of them went away, the remainder asked for two more Cags of which I very unwillingly gave them (they having already drank more than was at first intended for them) telling them that if there was no other method of detaining them than by constantly supplying them with Rum that I would rather choose to be left alone with the Volunteers. Mr. Langlade arrived and brought with him sixty Chippewas, who demanded Rum in so haughty a manner that I refused giving them any, & being assured that their motives in coming to us was to partake of our Provisions (of which we had only remaining but for fifteen days) I set out on my return to Michilimackinac leaving Mr. Langlade to wait a day longer for our Express (which was now gone nineteen days) intending to return should I find it necessary from the Mouth of the River where I intended waiting a Day for him—not to be any longer importuned by the Savages.

Mr. Langlade having waited according to orders at St. Joseph's informed me that the Express was not arriv'd. I therefore left the River & in two days arrived at the river Okikanamayo, from whence I saw a vessel steering towards St. Joseph's

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I instantly sent a Canoe after her to inform the master w[h]ere we were encamp'd and that we left St. Joseph's, having provisions only to carry us to Michilimackinac. Mr. Hep who conducted y e Canoe inform'd Lt. Clowes that my intention was to return to St. Joseph's as soon as we had a further supply of Provisions Lt. Cloes sent me a message by Mr. Hepe that he had provisions on board & that if I meant to return or wanted anything from on board, He desired I could send him a Canoe immediately—As soon as possible. I returned myself with as many of the Volunteers as choos'd to accompany me, hoping yet to be of some service, aided by Lt. Cloes & Michiguiss with ten 401 of his band I made no delay till I arrived at the river, w[h]ere I found that the Vessell had sail'd, but being in hopes that she was tacking about with an intention to return, I Encamp'd & sent Mr. Langlade again up to St Joseph's to see if anything extraordinary had happened since our departure upon his return he informed me that affairs were in y e same state as when we first left y e place, having waited two days & a half for the return of the Vessel, & having only seven days provisions left I resolved upon returning to Michilimackinac

I have the pleasure to inform you that the Canadians behaved with the greatest appearance of zeal for the Service possible, and seem greatly disappointed in not having had it in their power to distinguish themselves

Also the Soldiers who were of the Party, I flatter myself I need not inform you of their Eagerness to meet the Enemy.

Amiable a young Ottawa Chief was the only Indian who returned with me, he seems no less zealous for ye good of ye service, than ashamed at the dastardly, unsteady conduct of the rest of the Indians

I have y e honour to be Your most obedient humble Servant

Thos. Bennett Lieut & Adj't of y e Kings (or 8th) Regimt



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*To Mayor De Peyster Commanding the Garrison of Michilimackinac.*

Endorsed: From Lieut Bennett to Major De Peyster in form of a Journal of his Expedition to St Joseph's Dated Sept 1st Rec'd 24th In the Major's letter of 4th September.

### **1779: CLOSE OF CAMPAIGN**

[Letter from De Peyster to Haldimand. Source, same as preceding document, but p. 397.]

Michilimackinac 24th Sept. 1779.

Sir —The Indians are all gone to their wintering Grounds appearently well disposed. I herwith enclose their speech to me on their taking leave, for your Excellency's perusal. 26  
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The only assistance they have required for the ensuing Campaign was privately to beg me to Lodge with some careful trader on the way, three or four parcels of powder with a proportion of Ball, and some spare fuzees they say they hope of this moderation to make amends for the great expense they have hitherto put Government to without doing any esential Service.

I have the honor to be &c

A. S. De Peyster

[Letter from De Peyster to Haldimand. Source, same as preceding document, but p. 398.]

Michilimackinac 5th October 1779.

Sir —I have the pleasure to acquaint Your Excellency that Lieut. Governor Sinclair arrived at this Post yesterday in good health, he proposes to write to your Excellency by a light Canoe which leaves this in a few days. You may depend that nothing shall be waiting

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in me to give him every information in my power, & I believe I shall have full time to talk affairs over with him, as there is no vessel here to take me to Detroit whither I shall repair agreeable to your orders by the first opportunity.

I have the pleasure to give up everything in a quieter state. The Indians are all gone to their several winterings. The Traders are also sent to their different stations, after having formed a general store, in which they unanimously entered.

By this step I have been able to turn every bad man out of the Indian Country. I mean such as never desired to pay their debts or were suspected of wanting to go off to the Enemy one of them named pero [Perrault] lately went off *en cachet* . I sent after, and overtook him, on this side La Bay, but he rather than return, blew himself up with a Barrell of powder. I did propose in ease I had been ordered down to Quebec, to have verbally represented the misconduct of some of the Traders of the North West, having also waited in hopes to get some more 403 Information from Mr. Oaks, who I am informed through scarcity of provisions is gone directly down the country. It is, that gentleman therefore and to Mr. Patterson I must beg leave to refer you for a particular Account of what they had, concerning the people who were lately murdered by the Indians. I understood that the mischief was brought on thro' the imprudence, of two of the killed namely *Cole* and *prudhome* and by the misconduct of Messrs. Homes, McCormick and Graves. I am Sir &c.

A. S. De Peyster

### 1780: LANGLADE'S SERVICES

[Letter from Madame Langlade to a priest at Montreal. Translated from original MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library.]

Montreal , January 16th, 1780.

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Reverend Father —You have always manifested so much friendship for Mr Lunglade, my Husband, that I have no Hesitation in asking you to recommend me to His Excellency and to remind him of the Services rendered by my husband during. the twenty years he has been Employed in the Service, to the detriment of his private interests and of his family's welfare. In one of his Letters written last autumn and dated at Michilimackinac, he tells me that the Commandant, influenced either, by his enemies or by Caprice, has Given him much annoyance by making use of his own Pupils instead of him.<sup>1</sup> He does not deserve such a reward, as You know. I Also fear that some of Those same Enemies may turn His Excellency Against him. A few words from you might Prevent this and have Justice done Him as is his due.

<sup>1</sup> It seems evident that Governor Sinclair did not appreciate Langlade's services as thoroughly as had his predecessor, De Peyster; see: *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, p. 149.— Ed.

If His Excellency would grant me a permit for a Canoe load 404 this spring I would go and join him and I could thus Take my Things and minor Necessaries.<sup>2</sup> I therefore Beg you, reverend father, to be good enough to speak to him about It and you will be doing a good action, as is your custom.

<sup>2</sup> See Madame Langlade's application to Haldimand, *Ibid.* p. 150. The signature should be “Bourassa Langlade”—the manner in which Madame Langlade signs in the Mackinac Register, *post.*— Ed.

I remain with respect, Reverend father

[ Bourassa Langlade ]

### 1780: BRITISH EXPEDITION AGAINST ST. LOUIS

[Letter from Pierre Prevost<sup>3</sup> to George Rogers Clark, dated February 20, 1780. Translated from original MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library, Draper MSS, 50J14.]

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3 Pierre Prevost was an inhabitant of Kaskaskia, engaged in the Indian trade on the upper Mississippi. As his letter proves, he was an educated Frenchman, and favorable to the American cause. In 1781 he was chosen to bear the petition of the French habitants of the Illinois to Virginia. Whether he accomplished his mission or not is unknown. He was registered as head of a family in Kaskaskia in 1783; and was in 1784 in Cahokia, where he appears to have been associated with Gabriel Cerré; see *Ill. Hist. Colls.*, ii, index.— Ed.

Monsieur —It is fitting that I should acquaint you with what is happening here against the United States of America.

Two collars and two Bostonnise<sup>4</sup> scalps have been brought to The Sacs and Renards by theoux [Potawatomi] of detroit who say to these people that if they do not attack you war will be declared upon them By all the other nations and The troops of the King. But as they are not yet assembled together they have decided nothing as yet and have put off their response until they meet at the River des mouins where they are invited by a

4 The Americans were known as “Bostonais” or “Bastonnais” by the French habitants and Indians of the North and Northwest.— ED.

405 certain Calvé,<sup>5</sup> a Trader and an employee in the Service of the King for the tribesmen. This man has also brought a Collar from Michilimakinac which he has not yet spoken upon, consequently one does not know what he intends to say. However as Until the present he has always Been Opposed to You there is every reason to believe that he still designs plotting in the same way especially since it is true that since the Savages have. Seen this man they have made threats of Plundering us of our goods.

5 Joseph Calvé was a trader among the Sauk and Foxes, probably several years previous to 1776. Having acquired considerable influence, his services were sought by the British government, but this overture was at first declined because it would interfere with his commercial interests. He was, however, finally won over by the English, and organized one division of the attack upon St. Louis in May, 1780. He was accused by Sinclair of

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treachery, but succeeded in justifying his conduct and was reinstated in government employ, being sent in 1783 to notify the tribesmen of the Anglo-American treaty of peace. He was in Mackinac in 1784, on his way to Montreal. The Joseph Calvé of St. Louis appears to have been a nephew of the Wisconsin trader. See Billon, *Annals of St. Louis*, p. 199.— Ed.

Whatever you may think, this Sort of an employee for the King to Speak to the tribesmen is a bird of bad omen. I have nothing more to say on this matter.

I have the honor to be with respect, Monsieur, your very humble and very obedient servant

Prevost

River Aux Hahas 6 Feb. 20, 1780.

6 River Oahahah (Auhahah) was the Indian designation for Salt River, in Pike County, Missouri—see Arrowsmith's map of the United States, 1796; also *Pike's Expeditions*. i, p. 7. It is also suggested that the present Fabius River was named from *fabas* (Old Spanish, for bean or *habas*), so that either of these streams may be the one here, designated. The writer of this letter had evidently started on a trading voyage to the upper Mississippi—probably to the Sauk and Foxes—by the news of British activity in that region had stopped word to Clark.— Ed.

I have just learned at the present moment that the people from michilimakinac who are at the River des moins tell the 406 Savages that they regard you As The meanest of wretches, saying everything against you and all the People of the Illinois advising the Savages to Pillage all those who Come from there, consequently I have not yet gone from here, I could not probably Withdraw without losing money, because of the Counsel of these rascals.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> For the inception of this expedition against St. Louis and the Illinois settlements, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, p. 145, note 1. The plan was a comprehensive one, ordered from England, and included the capture of the Spanish settlements by a joint expedition from Mobile at the south and Mackinac on the north. The southern campaign failed, because of the activity of the Spanish governor of Louisiana, Bernardo de Galvez. The northern expedition, gathering at Prairie du Chien, advanced as far as St. Louis; see documents *post.* Sinclair's activity in arousing the Western tribesmen is evidenced by his letters. *Ibid*, pp. 144–152.— Ed.

*To Monsieur G. R. Clark commandant in chief of the troops of the United States of America in the department of the Illinois, at Kaskaskia .*

### **1780: SPANISH REPORT OF ATTACK ON ST. LOUIS**

[Letter from Martin Navarro to Jose de Galvez,<sup>8</sup> dated Aug. 18, 1780. MS. in Archives of the Indies, Seville; pressmark, "Papeles procedientes de la Isla de Cuba."]

<sup>8</sup> Martin Navarro was Spanish intendant of Louisiana, from the beginning of the Spanish regime until his retirement in 1788. His letter is addressed to Don Jose de Galvez, president of the Council of the Indies in Spain, and uncle of the Louisiana governor.— Ed.

Your Excellency —While we were under the belief that the English had been falsely charged with the atrocities committed in North America upon persons of all classes in that continent by the hands of the various savage tribes who followed their banners, there was given a most amazing proof of the fact by Captain Esse<sup>9</sup> at the head of three hundred regular troops and

<sup>9</sup> Emanuel Hesse was appointed lieutenant of the Royal Americans (Feb. 17, 1756), probably from the province of Pennsylvania. By 1759 he had left the army and entered the fur-trade. Sinclair speaks of him as a man of character, and gave him a captain's

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commission, probably in the Indian department. No more is known of him after this campaign of 1780.— Ed.

PLAN OF ST. LOUIS, 1780 Photograph from original MS. map in General Archives of the Indies, Seville, Spain, where it accompanies a document among the "Papers from Cuba," taken to Seville after the Spanish-American War

407 nine hundred savages which left not the least doubt that this nation, having forgotten how to make war according to the system practiced in Europe, does not desire to be false in America to the title with which an author of ability has characterized it.

Captain Don Fernando de Leyba of the infantry regiment of Luisiana was commandant at the post of San Luis de Ylinoises;<sup>10</sup> and having received information that a body of one thousand two hundred men, composed partly of savages and partly of troops, was being drawn up for an attack upon the town under the orders of Captain Esse, he fortified it as well as its open situation permitted. He built at the expense of the inhabitants a wooden tower at one of the ends of the town, overlooking it, and placed therein five cannon. In addition to these he had some cannon with which he defended the two intrenchments that he threw up at the other two extreme points. These were manned by twenty-nine veteran soldiers and two hundred and eighty-one countrymen. The enemy arrived May twenty-sixth at one o'clock in the afternoon, and began the attack upon the post from the north side, expecting to meet no opposition; but they found themselves unexpectedly repulsed by the militia which guarded it. A vigorous fire was kept up on both sides, so that by the service done by the cannon on the tower where the aforesaid commander was, the defenders at least succeeded in keeping off a band of villains who if they had not opportunely

<sup>10</sup> Fernando de Leyba was a native of Barcelona, in Spain. Appointed captain of the Louisiana infantry regiment, he came to New Orleans with Unzaga in 1769. Chosen lieutenant-governor of Spanish Illinois, he arrived at St. Louis June 17, 1778. Upon Clark's conquest of British Illinois, that officer entered into intimate relations with De Leyba,

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whom he found a courteous gentleman, much to his taste. During the troubled years of the latter's governorship, he and Clark maintained the pleasantest and most helpful relationship. De Leyba's wife died in 1779; he himself succumbed soon after the attack on St. June 27, 1780, and being buried in the churchyard of that village— Ed.

408 been met by this bold opposition on our part would not have left a trace of our settlements. There were also to be heard the confusion and the lamentable cries of the women and children who had been shut up in the house of the commandant, defended by twenty men under the lieutenant of infantry, Don Francisco Cartabona;<sup>11</sup> the dolorous echoes of which seemed to inspire in the besieged an extraordinary valor and spirit, for they urgently demanded to be permitted to make a sally. The enemy at last, seeing that their force was useless against such resistance, scattered about over the country, where they found several farmers who with their slaves were occupied in the labors of the field. If these hungry wolves had contented themselves with destroying the crops, if they had killed all the cattle which they could not take with them, this act would have been looked upon as a consequence of war, but when the learned world [ *mundo filosofico* ] shall know that this desperate band slaked their thirst in the blood of innocent victims, and sacrificed to their fury all whom they found, cruelly destroying them and committing the greatest atrocities upon some poor people who had no other arms than those of the good faith in which they lived, the English nation from now on may add to its glorious conquests in the present war that of having barbarously inflicted by the hands of the base instruments of cruelty the most bitter torments which tyranny has invented. The number of dead, wounded and prisoners is detailed in the report and information is constantly looked for as to the end of the prisoners, which is believed to be as unfortunate as that of their companions, perhaps more so.

<sup>11</sup> Sylvio Francisco de Cartabona was lieutenant in the Louisiana regiment, and advanced to the Illinois with De Leyba, who left him to command at Ste. Geneviève. Upon his summons to assist in the defense of St. Louis, he enrolled the local militia under Charles Vallé, who acted with spirit and courage. When he felt his own death approaching. De



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Leyba again sent for Cartabona, and the latter succeeded him as acting lieutenant-governor of Illinois, until the arrival of Francisco Cruzat in September, 1780. Then he returned to the command of Ste. Geneviève, which he retained until 1784.— Ed.

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### General Statement<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> For the British report of the number of killed and captured, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, p. 156. Their estimate of casualties largely exceeds that of the Spanish. The prisoners on the Mississippi were probably in part those taken at the lead mines— *Ibid*, p. 151; also those captured with Gratiot's boat— *Ibid*. p. 151, note 1; see also Billon, *Annals of St. Louis*. pp. 209–214, and the report of William Brown, captured by the Winnebago Indians, in *Missouri Hist. Colls.*, ii, No. 6, pp. 44–46.— Ed.

Whites. Slaves. Dead Wounded Prisoners Dead Wounded Prisoners 15 6 11 7 1 13  
Misisipi 46 15 6 57 7 1 13

This information is sent Your Excellency for your guidance. I shall take care to report to Your Excellency any news hence-forth, not only of this post but also of all others in the colony.

Our Lord preserve the valuable life of Your Excellency.

Your Excellency, Your most obedient servant kisses Your Excellency's hand.

Martin Navarro .

Nueva Orleans , August 18, 1780.

*His Excellency Senor Don José de Galvez .*

[Response to preceding letter, from same source.]

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The King has been greatly pleased at the vigorous defense made by Captain Don Fernando de Leiva and Lieutenant Don Francisco Caravona in repulsing the English Captain Esse who intended to surprise them and dislodge them from the post of San Luis de Ylinoeses; and in proof of his sovereign gratitude he has decided to confer upon the first the rank of Lieutenant Colonel and on the second that of Captain, commissions for whom I enclose to Your Lordship that you may arrange to communicate them to the interested parties. His Majesty was unable to look with less grief upon the unhappy lot which those 410 innocents suffered who had the misfortune to be victims of the ferocity of an officer so deeply dyed with inhumanity. I enclose to Your Lordship for comparison herewith a letter of the Intendant Don Martin Navarro dated August 18 last.

God protect your Lordship many years.

José De Galvez

Ed Pardo , February 3, 1781.

*His Lordship the Governor of Luisiana .*

[Response to preceding letter, from same source.]

Your Excellency —From Your Excellency's office I received February 9 the royal commissions of Lieutenant Colonel for the captain of this regiment, Captain Fernando de Leyba, and of captain for the lieutenant of the same, Don Francisco Cartabona, with which His Majesty has deigned to reward the zeal which both exhibited at the post of Ylinoeses by their vigorous repulse of the English Captain Esse, as Your Excellency was informed by the intendant of this province, Don Martin Navarro, under date of August 18 of last year.

The first of these officers died some time ago; but I will take care that the royal commission shall be forwarded as soon as possible to the second, who still remains at that post, and that he shall be recognized as of the rank of captain according to the will of our sovereign.

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God protect Your Excellency many years.

Your most obedient servant kisses Your Excellency's hand.

[ Bernardo ] De Galvez 13

13 Bernardo de Galvez was born in 1756 of a powerful family, his father being viceroy of Mexico. and his uncle one of the first ministers of state. In 1776 he was chosen governor-general of Louisiana, and arrived at New Orleans to assume his function. Feb. 1, 1777. He was energetic, and popular with the Louisianians, among whom he married. He strongly sympathized with the American colonists, and before Spain's declaration of war upon England, secretly aided them. As soon as the news of that event reached Galvez, he gathered his forces and captured the neighboring English forts of Manchac, Baton Rouge, and Natchez. The following spring (March 14, 1780) he secured the surrender of Mobile, and in 1781 that of Pensacola. He was liberally rewarded by the government for his brilliant exploits, and upon the death of his father (1785) was made viceroy of Mexico, where he remained until his own death in August, 1794.— Ed.

Nueva Orleans , July 19, 1781.

*His Excellency Don José de Galvez .*

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### **1780: FURS SAVED AT PRAIRIE DU CHIEN**

[Before the return of the expedition against St. Louis, Sinclair sent out a supplementary force to assist in bringing off the traders' effects from Prairie du Chien, and to protect the retreat.<sup>14</sup> They secured a large amount of peltry, and retired not long before the appearance of an American force.<sup>15</sup> ]

14 This expedition seems to have been in charge of Sergeant Phillips of the 8th infantry, and to have been composed chiefly of Indians and a few Canadian militia. Our chief source of information concerning this supplementary campaign is from the "Voyages of John Long," a northern trader then sojourning at Mackinac; see Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*. ii, pp. 185–190. Long represents himself as in command of the forces; but Sinclair's letters ( *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, pp. 153, 155) show that Phillips of the regulars was the authorized leader. They found Langlade guarding Prairie du Chien, and brought off about three hundred packs of furs, burning the rest, test the Americans should secure them.— Ed.

15 The American expedition following the retreating British was commanded by Col. John Montgomery, and under Clark's orders advanced for some distance up the Illinois. The rumor of their approach led to the retreat of the Chicago division of the British expedition. Montgomery thereupon left his boats and marched overland to the Rock and Mississippi rivers. On the former stream he burned a large Sauk town, with its cornfields. Long says ( *opus* cited in preceding note) that a party of Americans reached Prairie du Chien five days after he had retired therefrom. We have discovered no contemporary account of Montgomery's expedition, save a brief report in *Va. State Papers*, iii. p. 443. Dr. Draper collected several pension statements of participants. From these sources, in the Draper MSS., it would appear that the main body went no farther than the mouth of Rock River; but a detachment may, as stated by Long, have been sent to secure plunder at Prairie du Chien. If so, this would apparently be the first American expedition into what is now the state of Wisconsin.— Ed.

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### **1780: SCOUTING FROM MACKINAC.**

[The letter of Capt. John Mompesson,<sup>16</sup> printed in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*., viii, ordering Langlade to go upon a scout, should be dated Aug. 27, 1780, not 1778.]

16 For sketch of this officer, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, p. 162.— Ed.

### 1780: SPANISH REPORT ENGLISH INTRIGUES

[Letters from Francisco Cruzat<sup>17</sup> to Gov. Bernardo Galvez, dated Dec. 2 and 19, 1780. MS. in Archives of the Indies, Seville; pressmark, "Papeles procedientes de la Isla de Cuba."]

<sup>17</sup> Francisco Cruzat was of Spanish birth, and lieutenant-colonel in the Louisiana regiment. In 1775 he was appointed governor of Spanish Illinois. Superseded by De Leyba in 1778, he was sent back upon the latter's decease, and took over the government from Cartabona Sept. 24, 1780. He remained at this post until Nov. 27, 1787, an efficient and popular administrator.— Ed.

Dear Sir —Such are the movements which the English show in this barbarous and inhuman war, in order that they might succeed in their attempts, that even in the Misury they had introduced two of their banners, which I have had surrendered to me by telling the tribes, who had received them, that in order to be our allies they ought not to have in their villages other ensigns than the Spanish. I send them to Your Lordship by Don Agustin Choteau,<sup>18</sup> together with two ethers and thirteen

<sup>18</sup> Auguste Chouteau was born in New Orleans Sept. 26, 1750. At the age of thirteen he came with his mother to Illinois. Under his directions was built the first house on the site of St. Louis. Upon the death of his step-father Laclède, he assumed control of the latter's estate, and having successfully embarked in the fur-trade became prosperous and was long regarded as the first citizen of St. Louis. Upon the American advent (1804), Chouteau was appointed justice and colonel of militia. He organized in 1807 the first banking-house at St. Louis. In 1786 he married Marie Thérèse Cerré, and at his death (Feb. 24, 1829) left a large family and considerable estate.— Ed.

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413 medals which the Sac tribe had surrendered to him, as I have informed Your Lordship under date of September twenty-nine, and also another banner and medal which a chief of the Pu [Potawatomi] tribe just surrendered to me.

All these chiefs, who have surrendered these medals, desire that they be replaced by Spanish medals, but I have not been able to do that because enough of them were not brought up for all of them. Consequently, I shall desire that, if there is an opportunity, some of them be sent me, so that I may content said chiefs, as well as some copies of the printed permits, since, of those which I brought up with me, only two remain, and those who have received them have been caused great joy. With these we can succeed in contenting them.

May God preserve Your Lordship for many years.

Your most humble servant kisses Your Lordship's hands.

Francisco Cruzat

San Luis de Ylinneses , December 2. 1780.

*Don Bernardo de Galvez .*

Dear Sir —Each day the news that I have communicated to Your Lordship regarding the continual transporting by the English of all kinds of effect s and ammunition, to the bay [Green Bay] and to many other points in order that they might come next spring to attack us earlier than they did last spring in order to achieve this end, are being confirmed more and more in these settlements. One cannot imagine the expenses which the English are incurring and the exorbitant amounts of merchandise which are continually consumed among the Indian tribes, in order to attract them to their side, inducing them, by deceitful and threatening words, to turn against us. There is a rumor that the commandant of Micheli Mekinak is about to come himself at the head of said Indian tribes and other white

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people in order to direct the action better than that which they performed here in the month of May last. I have news also that the great chief of the Sios [Sioux] tribe, one of the most 414 important tribes of these districts, and established on the upper part of the Misisipy, is returning to his tribe from Michely Makinak, where he had gone, with a great quantity of merchandise of all sorts, not only to arouse his tribe but also those who are near him. Since this chief called La Oja [the Leaf],<sup>19</sup> exercises a limitless domination over the spirit of his tribe and that of the surrounding tribes, it is believed that he will obtain from all of them whatever he proposes to them.

<sup>19</sup> This was the well-known Wabasha, whom the French called La Feuille (the Leaf). See *ante*. p. 381, note 35.— Ed.

Nevertheless in order to destroy his intentions, I have determined to take some measures, of which I shall inform Your Lordship after they have been executed.

I have just learned that a band of the Aioas [Iowa], doubtless excited by the enemy, has corrupted the Hotos [Oto] tribe which is located on the upper Misury and has promised them to join the other tribes opposed to us in order to show as great hostility as possible toward us. I do not doubt the truth of this, for I know the Indians, and I know by experience that the appearance of gain does not excite them to take action, but the reality of the presents does. Since the English make so many of these to all the tribes of whom they wish to make use, they always obtain from them whatever they desire, unless, by the same methods, we destroy their hopes by deceiving the barbarians as they are doing, and, as I have already said, with exorbitant gifts. By this news, although it deserves some confirmation, and by other, which I am receiving daily, and which is current in these countries, but which I omit, as they are related to one another, Your Lordship can infer the situation of these settlements and that of the tribes allied to us. I am contriving to satisfy them more by astuteness than by presents, for, although I work by means of presents as much as is possible to me, they never reach the hundredth part of those which our enemies are distributing among them, as is well known and as Your Lordship can inform

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yourself—a reason which makes it possible for them to find as many Indian auxiliaries as they wish. Consequently, it is necessary for me to petition Your Lordship to deign to quickly despatch Messrs. Choteau and Serré<sup>20</sup> in order that I may be able to know the news and provisions of Your Lordship which the citizens of all these settlements desire so ardently, and which I consider very favorable for obtaining the ends which I desire.

<sup>20</sup> Jean Gabriel Cerré, later the father-in-law of Auguste Chouteau, had been the most prominent merchant of British Illinois. Born in Canada in 1734, he came to Kaskaskia in 1755, and there married Catherine Giard. When Clark captured Kaskaskia, Cerré was absent on a trading voyage; but he soon returned, and gave his allegiance to the Americans. In 1779 he bought a lot in St. Louis and soon removed his family thither, dying there April 4, 1800. See *Missouri Hist. Colls.*, ii, No. 2, pp. 58–76.— Ed.

May God preserve Your Lordship for many years.

Your most humble servant kisses Your Lordship's hands.

Francisco Cruzat .

San Luis de Ylinneses , December 19, 1780.

*Don Bernardo de Galvez .*

### 1781: WARNING TO TRADERS

[Letter from Sinclair, probably to Langlade.<sup>21</sup> Translated from original MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library.]

<sup>21</sup> There is no superscription to this letter; but both from the circumstance of its being found among the Langlade papers, and the general context, we infer that it was written to Langlade.— Ed.



Michilimakinac January 30th, 1781.

Sir —The Chief Object Mr Campion<sup>22</sup> had in view in setting out on his Journey was to warn the Traders in the West of the Attempts made by the Enemy to pillage the Goods and Merchandise

<sup>22</sup> Etienne Campion and his brother Alexis were natives of Montreal and prominent merchants in the upper country. They secured licenses for Western trade in 1778. Etienne was near St. Josephs when, in 1780, that place was attacked by the Cahokians sent by De la Balme. Campion gathered the Indians and pursued and defeated the invaders not far from South Chicago. He then returned to Mackinac, whence (as it appears by this document) he set out for Green Bay and the West. In the same year, he witnessed the deed for the British purchase of Mackinac Island, and was concerned in many Mackinac affairs until as late as 1794. See Mackinac Register, *post.*— Ed.

416 at Miamis and St. Joseph. Although they were in possession of them for a moment, they were finally defeated at both Places and took none of their Plunder away with them.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>23</sup> This refers to the expedition of Col. Augustin Mottin de la Balme, a French officer who appeared in the West in the summer of 1780, and aroused the French habitants, leading them on an expedition against Detroit. Under what authority De la Balme acted, is not clear; see Alvord's interpretation in *Ill. Hist. Colls.*, ii, pp. lxxxix–xciv. He collected a considerable force at Vincennes and Kaskaskia, took possession of Ouiatanon, and marched upon Miami (near the site of Fort Wayne), hoping to capture Charles Beaubien, the British agent at that place. In this, De la Balme was disappointed; but he captured the post, plundered it of goods, and made a retreat. Why he did not march upon Detroit is not known; possibly the Indians in that location were too threatening—see *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, x, pp. 448, 449; xix, p. 581. Meanwhile, induced by presents from the British agents, the Indians assembled for pursuit. They overtook the expedition near Aboite Creek, surprised the camp in the night, and completely routed the entire force. The leader

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was killed, and his chief aide-de-camp made prisoner. An account by Legras of Vincennes is found in the Wisconsin Historical Library, Draper MSS., 50J75. The expedition against St. Josephs was also commissioned by De la Balme, and went out from Cahokia, under the leadership of Jean Baptiste Hamelin and Thomas Brady. In the preceding summer, Louis Chevalier and all the French habitants of St. Josephs had been removed from that post as suspects. Meanwhile De Peyster had sent thither Lieutenant De Quindre to protect the place. St. Josephs was surprised by the Cahokian force, and the traders captured and plundered. But Campion and De Quindre pursued the Cahokians as they retreated, and gave them battle (Dec. 5, 1780), not far from South Chicago. Hamelin and all his men save three were killed and taken prisoners, and most of the plunder was recovered. See *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, x. pp. 450–452; xix, pp. 591, 592.— Ed.

You and the other Traders of your District cannot be too much on your guard against similar Attempts which, it is reported, are intended to be made against you by the Mississippi.

I remain, Sir, Your very humble Servant,

Patt Sinclair Lt. Gov.

### 1781: INSTRUCTIONS FOR SPANISH GOVERNOR OF ST. LOUIS

[Martin Navarro to Francisco Cruzat, dated Feb. 15, 1781. MS. in Archives of the Indies, Seville; pressmark, "Papeles procedientes de la Isla de Cuba."]

Having examined what Your Grace has advised this government of on different dates from September 26 to December 92 of last year, I shall reply in order to all of them and to each one in this single official communication, because the many diverse matters of the royal service in which I am sunk by the absence of the Governor do not allow time for more.<sup>24</sup>

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24 Galvez, governor-general of Louisiana, had gone on all expedition to capture the English fort of Pensacola, leaving Navarro as governor at New Orleans, *pro tempore*.— Ed.

I can do no less than give Your Grace a thousand thanks for the zeal and activity with which you made the voyage to that village of San Luis in fifty-nine days, arriving at the time most propitious to enable you to place those settlements in a state of defense. The fact that Your Grace took two days more in reaching the American settlement of the Iron Mine<sup>25</sup> preserved you doubtless from an encounter which might have been fatal. 27

<sup>25</sup> Fort Jefferson was built under the direction of George Rogers Clark in the spring of 1780. It was hoped to attract settlers thither, and build a town, to be called Clarksville. The site was the first high land on the east (or American) shore of the Mississippi, below the mouth of the Ohio, at what was later known as Iron Banks (from the red color of the soil). in Ballard County, Kentucky. The fort sustained a considerable siege from the Chickasaw in July, 1780, to which incident the Spanish commandant probably refers in this document. Fort Jefferson was finally abandoned in the summer of 1781.— Ed.

418 I have learned that the Indians succeeded badly with their enterprise, as I hope will happen in whatever they undertake in those districts. This is all I have to reply to the first letter of Your Grace, September 26, last.

By the letter of the 27th of the same month, Your Grace informs our Governor of the critical condition to which you found that village and the other settlements reduced, on account of the threats of the English, and even more, because of the irregular administration which they have experience The memory of the occurrence and the causes which produced so pitiful a catastrophe dictated the measures and efforts which Your Grace ought to take. Your zeal and love to the service by which you have always been known to distinguish yourself, at the same time that they will give you the general esteem of all, for your accurate efforts in the defense of those places, will give Your Grace a

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thousand means for rendering vain the attempts and undertakings of the enemy without the least of those settlements having any reason to complain of the Commandant.

I am informed that Your Grace received the command of those settlements from Lieutenant Don Francisco de Cartabona on September 24, and that you began immediately to take the measures which you considered most conducive to placing that village in a state of defense. With this motive, and in view of the orders of the Court and special instructions which I have, I shall not hesitate to advise Your Grace that notwithstanding your great disinterestedness and the indispensable urgency of a post remote from the capital and threatened every instant by enemies, Your Grace must regulate the expenses incurred with wisdom and economic prudence, without failing in what is necessary, and considering only what is strictly useful, not avoiding likewise any effort and requisite that conduces to it, so that whatever expenses are incurred may appear here to be of clear and evident utility.

I am very greatly pleased with the promptness with which those habitants are ready to sacrifice themselves in defense of the fatherland and the honor of our arms. Your Grace may from now on assure them of the protection of our sovereign who will not discontinue to reward good citizens as he has always done, and of which we have a recent example in the numerous promotions made in that colony because of the conquests of the English settlements of that river.

I believe it is excellent for Your Grace to have distinguished the zeal and affection of the Sac tribe who have so generously lent to our district in circumstances of so little advantage [to them]. I have reported to our General the good services of the retired officer, Don Esteban Boucher de Mombrun.<sup>26</sup> Your Grace shall encourage him to continue with the same valor, zeal, and experience by assuring him of the particular distinction with which our General will always regard him. He approves immediately the measures that Your Grace has taken of entrusting to this officer a detachment of thirty-two militiamen. In regard to this and other individuals, Your Grace shall make any request in future for the

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royal interests. It is necessary to proceed with the greatest care, in order to obviate all suspicion, at the same time avoiding the complaints of private persons who must suffer the burdens, and be benefited with all impartiality, preferring these who bear themselves best, and show the greatest zeal and love for the good of the service.

26 Esteban (Etienne) Boucher de Monbrien was either the son or brother of Jacques Timothe. who was county-lieutenant of Illinois (1782–86).— Ed.

On this occasion, 16 medals are sent and ten flags with 16 letters patent which Your Grace is to distribute among the chiefs of the Sac tribe, who, according to Your Grace's advice of the 28th of September, surrendered thirteen English medals and three banners.

Your Grace shall distribute the present of this year, which is sent by the lighters, in consideration of the fact that we have no effects at present. It is not known when we shall have them, because a powerful fleet which left Havana to attack Panzacola under command of our Governor, suffered a storm of five days' 420 duration, so furious that it scattered all the boats, many of which lost their masts. Among them were the war frigates, which put back to Havana with three transports. On the thirteenth of this month, two were captured at Movila and at this river by the English, and the balance of the vessels put into Campeche Bay after sustaining rough usage, whence they did not sail until the fifth of this month. We are daily awaiting our Governor who is to come with one thousand men, after having sent forward the five hundred who are here. Your Grace will see by this detail, what a disaster the measures taken by our General for the inner government of the colony, and the contentment of the savage tribes both friends and enemies, must have suffered.

It is advisable to continue our devotion to the Otabuas [Ottawa] tribes, especially since they can serve us greatly in the present circumstances by opposing the bands of our enemies who might attack those settlements as they did the band of Monsieur Langlade whom they obliged to retire to Michilimackinac. That event and the departure of the two English barks laden with ammunition of war and provisions broke the measures which

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our enemies had taken to attack these settlements the second time.<sup>27</sup> I hope that Your Grace's zeal will deal with all those tribes in such manner that concurring with our arms in sustaining the honor and glory of our nation. its hopes may have an equally good outcome next spring.

<sup>27</sup> There are no accounts in the Canadian Archives. so far as published, of this repulse of Langlade. it may have been connected with the scout on which he was ordered—Aug. 27. 1780 (see *ante*, p. 412). There was constant expectation of attack at the Illinois throughout the summer of 1780. and one band of British Indians was driven from Kaskaskia on July 17. In August. the militia both of St. Louis and Cahokia were put under arms in anticipation of a hostile raid: see *Ill. Hist. Colls.*, ii. pp. lxxxviii. 59, 61. It is interesting to know that the Ottawa were somewhat influenced by the Spaniards and Americans. Sinclair speaks of “rebel belts” having penetrated as far as Saginaw Bay; see *Mich, Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, ix, p. 578.— Ed.

421

Your Grace has done excellently in observing with the official, Monsieur La Balme, the prudent conduct of which you give advice on September 23 last.<sup>28</sup> Although I do not believe that there will be the least difficulty in the habitants of that village having the present which they request, and which belongs. to them for the three months of April, May, and June, when they performed service, and which was not granted them by the late Commandant, Don Fernando de Leyva, I have been unwilling to take upon myself the granting of the petition until it is decreed by our General, who will immediately do it in favor of those militias, for which purpose I shall report to him the justice of the request.

<sup>28</sup> For the conduct of the Spanish commandant with relation to Dela Balme, see *Ill. Hist. Colls.*, ii, pp. xci, 621.— Ed.

Madame de Volsey is in this city.<sup>29</sup> On the date of November fourteenth last, Your Grace advised me that you sent her against your will, because of the occasion of one Malvo.

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We shall do our best to settle this matter, which appears a trifle difficult and it was finally consigned.

29 For the history of this person see Billon, *Annals*, pp. 435–437.— Ed.

I am advised that Monsieur Sarpi<sup>30</sup> has given you three thousand five hundred *pesos fuertes* for the support of the officers and troops of that detachment, according to the advice of November 15 last.

30 Jean Baptiste Sarpy was a native of France, who came to St. Louis about 1766 and was a prominent merchant there for over twenty years. He died in New Orleans, unmarried, in 1798. The Sarpy family of St. Louis are descended from his brother.— Ed.

I am not displeased at the measures which Your Grace took in that post one week after your arrival because of the alarm in those posts, of giving each militiaman, and all the slaves who can bear arms, one-half pound of powder, and one pound of balls, with orders to keep them for any event, and to prove, when they use it, that it was in the service of the river.

I retain review lists for the two months which the detachment, which ascended to Santa Genoveva at the orders of Lieutenant 422 Don Carlos Vallee,<sup>31</sup> to whom the present was supplied entire, as well as to the other militiamen of that village, stayed in those posts.

31 For the Vallé family, see *Missouri Hist. Colls.*, ii, No. 7, pp. 54–82. Lieutenant Charles was apparently the son of François, first civil commandant of Ste. Geneviève under the Spanish regime. He evidently entered the Spanish military service. and is said to have reinforced St. Louis on the day of attack (May 26, 1780), acting efficiently and with energy. He married Pelagie Carpentier, and died in Louisiana at an advanced age.— Ed.

It is well for Your Grace to supply by contract the wood needed by the Indians, although, as I have suggested, it will be advisable to economize expenses, only spending what

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seems absolutely indispensable. In this matter I have believed it well for Your Grace to lessen the number of employees in this service to one hundred men from November 1, last.

I do not believe it bad for Your Grace to keep Mounsieur Boucher de Mombrun, with a detachment of forty militiamen, on the Misisipi among the Sac tribe forty leagues from that village,<sup>32</sup> and Monsieur Maye with another detachment of twelve militiamen on the Ylinoa River<sup>33</sup> in order to observe the movements of the enemy and to win the affection of the tribes, by attracting those who are undecided about accepting our friendship, and maintaining our allies in the condition that is advisable for the conservation of those settlements.

<sup>32</sup> For Boucher de Monbruen see *ante*, p. 419, note 26. His station must have been at the great Sauk village, just above the mouth of the Des Moines River, about on the site of the town of Montrose, Iowa. This was probably the lowest Sauk town on the western side of the Mississippi, and its distance corresponds to that noted here—forty leagues. He continued in this post for several years; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, p. 66.— Ed.

<sup>33</sup> Probably Jean Baptiste Mailhet, concerning whom little authentic information is now obtainable. He appears to have settled on Lake Peoria before Clark's conquest, and to have held a sort of commission from the American forces. His Spanish connections have, we believe, not been known previous to the present publication. He was one of the leaders in the attack on St. Josephs (January, 1781), and was finally killed in 1801 at his Peoria village.— Ed.

423

Although the information communicated by Your Grace to the government on the 13th of November last, concerning the disembarkation of the French in the River of San Lorenzo [St. Lawrence] does not appear well founded, still it does not cease to be useful in restraining the savages and wanderers who are among them.



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If Your Grace could be assured by means of the savages of the commanders who are persuading them to descend to attack those pests, it would be the only method of pacifying those districts without the cost of a single drop of blood. Therefore, Your Grace shall do your best to discover exactly whomever you know in the tribes contrary to our interests. I see the difficulty of the undertaking, but I do not doubt that it can be attained with some. in which case, we shall have fewer enemies.

The accident that occurred with Balafre, the principal chief of the tribe of the Little Osages, will not I believe. have greater results whenever with skill and attention the tribe is given to understand how much cause the said Balafre had in his own destruction. Their anger may be erased with some small present, but you are to keep on the lookout and give the orders suitable so that no accident which may have bad results may again happen.

I have read with special satisfaction Your Grace's information of the 14th of November last, namely, that the Renard tribe requested that it be taken under the protection of the Spanish flag; and really since much utility may result from an alliance with that tribe, Your Grace shall contrive to take the measures possible for confirming their affection and friendship to us, notwithstanding our scarcity of all things.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>34</sup> For a speech of Cruzat to the Sauk and Fox tribe. made six days later than the letter here referred to, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii, pp. 504, 505.— Ed.

I am very sorry for what happened to Monsieur la Balme, and that in my opinion, the same had a great part in having perhaps attempted with imprudence, an undertaking which needed more time, more strength, and better circumstances.

424

Since there does in effect result considerable burden to the royal treasury from buying in those places anything for presents for the Indians, it is advisable, as I have suggested, not to take anything from any of those traders who are able to take advantage of the occasion

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by causing two hundred per cent more to be paid for their merchandise, so that at last, the end of contenting the savage tribes is not attained, whether because of the scarcity or perhaps because of the inferior quality of the goods.

The disinterestedness and true affection that Monsieur' Serre [Cerré] has shown to the nation in all commissions for the service which have been intrusted to his honor and experience shall not remain without recompense. For that reason I shall relate those services to our General as soon as he arrives in this province, which as he writes cannot be long delayed. I shall also remember the special recommendation which Your Grace gives Don Agustin Chuteau, who has chosen to direct the fortification of that post because of the capacity, zeal, and love to the royal service which he has shown on various occasions.

I hope that in spite of the great presents which are distributed by the English among those tribes, and notwithstanding the small sum that we have, their hopes will prove empty, even though the [English] governor descend from Michilimakinak, which I doubt. At all events, the zeal, honor, and activity of Your Grace promises me a happy result on our part in their boasted attack on those settlements next spring.

I approve the determination which Your Grace took with the tribes of the Misuri, in making them hand over the two English banners which had been introduced among them.

Chuteau delivered me the fourteen medals and five English flags which Your Grace recovered from the Sac and Pus tribes. As I have said, they were replaced on this occasion.

Having been persuaded that Your Grace will have decided to fortify that village with the stockade of which you give advice in your letter of December last, and whose plan was given me by Chuteau, only after mature reflection and in view of the best service to the King, observing throughout, moreover, all 425 economy possible; considering even that

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this work will be finished before the arrival of the lighters; I approve it with the reservation of what our General will say.

Since the effects, which Your Grace took from Monsieur Sarpi and which were not used, have their kind among those which are sent on this occasion for the present of this year, they shall be returned to the said Sarpi, or put into his possession, keeping in force the contract made, with the end of economizing as much as possible the expenses caused the royal treasury, which are already great, and will immediately appear exorbitant from the simple inspection of Sarpi's note. I do not pretend by this to tax as heedless Your Grace's conduct in these circumstances, for I know in your evident zeal and disinterestedness the fatal results that could be produced by the anger and displeasure of the savage tribes who are so powerful in that pan of the world. But at the same time the orders of the court directed to this government to avoid all expense that is not indispensable in order to economize the expenses of the royal treasury as much as possible, without failing in what is necessary in this matter, are very necessary, evident, and positive. You shall regulate your conduct by these principles, and in this way we shall both avoid the responsibility which we should have by neglecting this prudent conduct.

Whenever the American commandants of the western bank of this river agree to observe the same uniform conduct with us, Your Grace shall surrender the deserters whom they demand, under their word of honor not to punish them. But if they do not keep the same rule with us, you shall not surrender any of all those that present themselves. I believe that Your Grace should first have some order in regard to this particular from our Governor or from me, issued in consequence of an official communication given for that purpose by Don Rivero Pollok, agent of the United States.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Oliver Pollock's services to the American cause have scarcely received due appreciation. A Scotch-Irishman, he came to America before 1760, and in 1762–63 was in Cuba, where he learned Spanish and made the acquaintance of the governor-general. Before 1768 he had decided to remove to New Orleans, and thither brought a cargo of

four the following year, which relieved the city of famine. In consequence he was granted freedom of trade at this port, and the favor of the Spanish authorities. He accumulated a considerable fortune, which at the outbreak of the Revolution was placed by him at the disposal of the States, and drawn upon for furnishing supplies and ammunition to the back country. In 1777 he was appointed official agent for the United States, and financially aided George Rogers Clark's expeditions to the Western country. He was a firm friend of Governor Galvez, upon some of whose campaigns he served as aide-de-camp. Pollock's heavy liabilities for the United States imperilled his fortune, and from 1781–83 he was at Philadelphia negotiating for relief. In 1784, at Havana, he was arrested for debt, and kept under surveillance for eighteen months. After release and a visit to Philadelphia, he returned to New Orleans, where in the following years (1785–91) he partly retrieved his financial standing. About 1791 he retired from business and purchased an estate in Pennsylvania, where he lived until after 1814. Then he went to live with his son-in-law in Mississippi, dying there in 1823.— Ed.

426

In regard to what Your Grace says to me in your letter of December 22, last, on the peace concluded between the American colonies and their former mother-country, it lacks foundation, as does also the coming of Colonel Clark with six hundred men to attack those settlements; and I am immediately sure that if his arrival is effected with a like number, you will enjoy more tranquility than you do now.

I approve Your Grace's formation of the 2d company of militia, which was approved by the Governor-General of this province, January 13 of last year. I do not doubt that the said governor will, as soon as he arrives, issue the fitting despatches to all the officers whom Your Grace proposer as well as the office of the Adjutant-in-chief in favor of Don Benito Vazquez<sup>36</sup>, in accordance with Your Grace's report in regard to those proposed.

<sup>36</sup> Benito Vasques was born (1750) in Galicia, Spain, and came to St. Louis (1770) as a subordinate in the troops, with Pedro Piernas. In 1774 he married Julia Papin, a Canadian

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girl, and made his permanent home in St. Louis. He was the father of a large family, one of his sons serving with Pike in the latter's Western expedition of 1805–06. The elder Vasques died at St. Louis in 1810.— Ed.

427

It is a good thing for Your Grace to always keep active, and investigate and inquire closely into the actions of your neighbors, from whom I do not believe there is anything for you to fear, other than that they will be seen to be abandoned and come by themselves to make effective the scattered rumors that those habitants are planning to send a messenger to Detroit, demanding English vassals, and begging the protection of His Britannic Majesty. Your Grace will keep the sharpest lookout and take the greatest precautions, and continue to exercise the said attention in order not to be surprised under any circumstances.

I shall give the fitting orders, for a post to be despatched overland from Los Arcos<sup>37</sup> with news of the ascent of the convoy, in order that Your Grace may send a pirogue to meet it in order to inform it of the innovations which might have occurred in those settlements, and opportunity avoid the fatal results that might follow from not proceeding with safety and with a full knowledge of all things.

<sup>37</sup> Los Arcos was the post on the Arkansas—one of the oldest in the lower Mississippi valley. In 1686 some of Tonty's men obtained permission to form a settlement at this point, and it was thither the survivors of the murder of La Salle made their way. The settlement was however, not continuous; for when the Seminary missionaries made their way to this region from Quebec (1699), to found a mission for the Arkansas, there were no traces of previous white occupation. The mission, afterwards transferred to the Jesuits, seems, with occasional intermissions, to have been maintained until 1763. Meanwhile a small post was established here under the supervision of the Louisiana government—probably in 1718, when John Law sent thither a body of German colonists and a number of negro slaves to work his concession upon the Arkansas River. From this time forward a garrison was maintained on the river until the American occupation the outpost being officially known as

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St. Etienne, but in common parlance as “Aux Ares” (at the Arkansas). In 1748 it suffered an attack by the Chickasaw and four years later the fort was rebuilt. A considerable force was kept here throughout the Spanish regime, but the fort was surrendered to the Americans in 1804.— Ed.

Your Grace reports concerning the interpreter, Antonio 428 D'Tretreque<sup>38</sup> in regard to his continual work and fatigue and endeavor shall be made to recompense them; for which purpose the matter shall be reported to the Governor as soon as he arrives.

38 Possibly the Frenchman Delor de Treget, who came to this country about 1767, and was the first settler of Carondelet. See Billon, *Annals*, p. 492.— Ed.

I forgot to advise Your Grace that no contract or writ for the King, which is not in the Spanish language, must be made or signed by Your Grace. This order must be observed with religious scrupulousness, as such are the wishes of the sovereign.

The certificates given by Your Grace to the militia of that post are discounted by the chief accountancy of this army and province for the allowance of the present which is made in the formal contract for said militia by the review lists which Your Grace sent me November 11 last, and which were sent to the Intendant as well as an official communication for the undertaking of the lighter, which was provisioned by Lieutenant Don Francisco Cartabona, whose surrender or payment was asked by Monsieur Cerre.

The report of the supplies which Your Grace sent me of those in that post with the note that you are unprovided with many things which are indispensable in case of attack, does not mention the things that Your Grace needs. I showed it to an artillery officer, and, according to his opinion, the cannon sponges are lacking which Your Grace can procure there at less cost than here. It is impossible to send any fuses as we have not here what we need for the service of the camp. However, as Your Grace will see by the enclosed, some balls of the caliber of 4 and 6 with some tools for the service of that detachment, are

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sent. Since there is an abundance of lead at that post, Your Grace can make some grape shot for the artillery, for which purpose suitable cartridges will be sent.

The conduct which Your Grace has observed in regard to the representation made by the habitants of Post Vincennes is highly approved by me, as well as the fact that Your Grace has demanded the collars which the American agent Monsieur Dodge<sup>39</sup> has kept. Since this is really a procedure not at all in keeping with the perfect harmony that ought to reign between us, I have reported the matter to Monsieur Polok, who, disapproving the act, writes on this occasion an order to the effect that the six said collars be surrendered to Your Grace. Your

<sup>39</sup> After the defeat of De la Balme, in the autumn of 1780, the remaining inhabitants of Vincennes, and those of Ouiatanon who had retired to the former place, addressed a petition to Governor Cruzat at St. Louis, detailing their sad situation, and assuring him they would be obliged to abandon their post unless they obtained aid; since all the Indians, lured by English presents, had abandoned them and were daily attacking them. They describe themselves as “good citizens of France” and appeal to Cruzat as the ally of that power to send them ammunition and merchandise to subsidize the Indians. The petition is signed by twenty-eight prominent French habitants, some of whom had signed Clark in 1778–79. Cruzat replied Dec. 15, 1780, expressing much sympathy for their grievous situation, but assuring them that he considers them subjects of the United States by right of conquest, and that they must apply to their superiors at the Illinois, with whom he will gladly work in concert for their preservation and aid. The original MS. of this petition and the reply are in the Bancroft collection. University of California. A facsimile has kindly been furnished us by Prof. C. W. Alvord of the University of Illinois.— Ed.

John Dodge was a native of Connecticut (about 1749) and came West as a trader in 1770, settling at the Wyandot villages near Sandusky, where he acquired much influence over the tribesmen. On the outbreak of the Revolution, he sympathized with the States, and was influential in securing Indian neutrality, attending by request the Pittsburgh treaty

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of 1775. Early in 1776 he was arrested by order of Governor Hamilton, kept prisoner at Detroit and finally sent down to Quebec. Thence he escaped in 1778, and upon visiting Congress secured therefrom a grant of land in requital of his losses. He also called on Jefferson, and secured the appointment of Indian agent for the Illinois. Once returned to the Western country he carried out his measures in an arbitrary manner; finally (1782) seizing and holding the fort that dominated Kaskaskia. In 1787, finding his influence waning, he retired to Ste. Geneviève, on the Spanish side of the river, where in 1794 he died. He was an uncle of Gov. Henry Dodge of Wisconsin Territory.— Ed.

430 Grace shall, on your part, advise me of the results at the first opportunity.

Although Your Grace is under the necessity of applying to the department of the friendship of the Indians, some part of the ammunition destined for service and defense of those settlements, Your Grace shall send a report stating clearly each thing; that is to say, that Your Grace must submit a certification of what was used in presents for the Indians and in addition what was used in the defense of the posts, in which particular Your Grace shall be especially careful.

Nueva Orleans , February 15, 1781

*Don Francisco Cruzat .*

### **1782: EXPEDITION AGAINST ST. JOSEPHS**

[Letter from José de Galvez to Bernardo de Galvez, dated Jan. 15, 1782. Source, same as preceding document.]

The King has received with the utmost satisfaction and gratification the information contained in the letter of Your Excellency of the 26th of last October, No. 28, in which referring to another letter written by the commandant of Ylinoeses to the Governor *ad interim* of Luisiana he reports the profitable conquest of the post of San Josef, two hundred and thirty leagues from San Luis, which was occupied by the English.<sup>40</sup> The



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40 The Spanish account of this expedition was published in the Madrid *Gazette* for March 12, 1782, a translation being sent by John Jay, the United States envoy at Madrid to the authorities in America: see Jared Sparks, *Diplomatic Correspondence* (Boston, 1830), viii, pp. 76, 77. The English accounts are published in *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, x, pp. 453–455, xix, pp. 600, 638; the American in *Ill. Hist. Colls.*, ii, p. 620 and *Va. State Papers*, i, p. 465. The Spanish authorities appeared inclined to vaunt the expedition as exclusively of their initiative; while the Americans regarded it as an act of revenge, prompted by local spirit, for the defeat of the Cahokians connected with De la Balme's expedition; the British seem to have considered it a mere plundering excursion. See Alvord, "Conquest of St. Joseph," in *Missouri Historical Review*, April, 1908. That the Spanish made use of this incident to claim title to territory east of the Mississippi, and north of the Ohio, would seem evident from the correspondence of Jay, in Sparks, *op. cit.*, pp. 150–153. But that the expedition was planned at Madrid, as suggested by E. G. Mason, *Chapters from Illinois History* (Chicago, 1901), pp. 293–311, seems improbable. The facts appear to be that the Illinois habitants at Cahokia and St. Louis, hearing of the condition of St. Josephs, and of the defection of the Potawatomi Indians, planned the expedition partly for revenge, partly for plunder; while the lately-arrived Spanish governor, Francisco Cruzat, saw in this project a chance to emulate the success of his superior, Galvez, at New Orleans, in capturing British posts. Cruzat was planning some kind of retaliatory act upon the British, as appears by his letter of Dec. 19, *ante*, p. 414. He sent a detail of his militia upon the expedition, and upon the successful termination of the raid claimed credit therefor for his country and his officers. Having come to the notice of the Spanish authorities, this incident was utilized by them in the subsequent peace negotiations. That the expedition was a mere raid, is evidenced by the fact that no attempt was made to hold the post, for the victors remained there but one day. It is interesting to note that the Milwaukee Potawatomi Joined in this foray.— Ed.

431 King applauded the courage and prudent conduct of the captain of militia, Don Eugenio Pirre, commandant of the detachment which formed the attack; of the sub-

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lieutenant of the same, Don Carlos Tayon;<sup>41</sup> and of the interpreter, Don Luis Chavalier, employed

<sup>41</sup> Eugène Pourée *dit* Beausoleil came to St. Louis soon after its establishment his name first appearing on a document in 1767. He was a prominent merchant, and exported goods from New Orleans; see “The case of Pourée against Chouteau” in *Missouri Hist. Colls.*, ii, No. 6, pp. 68–81. He was a captain of militia under Cruzat, and died in 1783, leaving no children. He is said to have been the hero of an exploit with Mississippi River pirates. His name is mentioned in connection with this expedition in *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xix, p. 600, where it is curiously misprinted Bean Solid (Beau Soliel).

Charles Tayon (Taillon) was the son of Joseph Michel *dit* Taillon, who came from Canada to Illinois, and was at Fort Chartres in 1748. In 1764 he removed to St. Louis, his son Charles being at that time five years of age. The latter married in 1780 Cécile Deschamps. The younger Tayon was prominent in the affairs of Spanish Illinois and at one time served as commandant for St. Charles. When Lewis and Clark went up the Missouri in 1804, they dined with this officer at St. Charles.— Ed.

<sup>432</sup> in the expedition;<sup>42</sup> and as a proof of his satisfaction with their service he has deigned to confer upon the first the rank of lieutenant in the army on half pay, and on the second that of sub-lieutenant on half pay, and to command that Your Excellency shall assign to the third such a gratification as shall appear appropriate.

<sup>42</sup> Probably the son of Louis Chevalier, mentioned *ante*, p. 372, note 1. The son was in Montreal in 1778 (see *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, ix, p. 354), and in 1780 was enrolled in the militia company of St. Louis as “Luis Chevalier, native of Canada, aged 32.” It was probably due to Chevalier's influence that the Potawatomi Indians permitted the expedition to pass. There may have been a desire for private revenge animating the Chevaliers, for they had become suspects to the Canadian authorities, and the father was shortly before this a prisoner at Montreal; see *Id.*, x. pp. 438–440. He was still in Montreal in 1782, and the son appears to have been in partnership with Mailhet in 1787.— Ed.

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God grant Your Excellency many years.

Galvez .

El Pardo , January 15, 1782.

*S r . D n . Bernardo de Galvez.*

### **1782: LAND-GRANT AT MACKINAC**

[Land-grant from Lieut-Gov. Sinclair to Pierre Grignon, dated Aug. 10, 1782. Original MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library.]

This Grant is ceded to Pierre Grignon<sup>43</sup> his Heirs Executors Administrators or Assigns for a Space of Land seventy feet front & running to Northward one hundred and thirty feet, bounded

<sup>43</sup> Comparatively little is known of Pierre Grignon, Senior son-in-law of Charles Langlade. According to Tanguay he was born at Deschambault, Nov. 16. 1740. His son related that the senior Pierre came to the upper country as a voyageur during the French regime, being first employed on Lake Superior: that he settled at Green Bay before 1763, and there lived with a Menominee woman by whom he had three children. In 1776 he married Louise Domitilde Langlade, in the common-law fashion of the country, but the union was solemnized by the church at Mackinac, in 1787. The elder Grignon does not appear to have been concerned in military affairs. He was a considerable trader, having large invoices at Green Bay, where he had a home; but he sent his children to Montreal for their education. His death occurred in November, 1795.— Ed.

<sup>433</sup> on the Eastward by the Lot ceded to Charles Langlade, & on the Westward by a Street leading from the Water Side, situated on the Island of Michilimakinac<sup>44</sup> on the North side of the Village with the following limited Right & Title viz That the said Pierre Grignon is to have hold & possess with full & free powers to convey sell or dispose of

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said Lands without fees or Burthens whatsoever (excepting the registering of the Deed in the office of the Notary Publick) during the Pleasure of his Majesty, or of the Governor & Commander in Chief of the province of Quebec; And He the said Pierre Grignon by these presents stands and shall stand absolutely lawfully and solely seized *of & in* the said Land & Lot w t , the premisses thereon, with the Appurtenances of a good sure lawful absolute and indefeasible Estate having in himself true Rightfull power & absolute authority to settle & assure the same & every part & parcel of the same Lot & premisses to Him his Heirs Executors Administrators & Assigns under the Limitations aforesaid. And for the Security of the said Pierre Grignon proprietor of the above limited and rented Land and premisses this Conveyance

44 Until the administration of Sinclair, the British fort at Mackinac was located upon the south shore of the strait, not far from the present Mackinaw City. Upon Sinclair's arrival he saw at once the strategic value of the island of Mackinac (where in 1670 the Jesuits had first established their mission of St. Ignace, soon thereafter removes to Point St. Ignace, on the mainland to the north), and in 1780 began the removal of the fort and village to that place. The fort was building throughout 1780 and 1781—the garrison appears to have removed in October of the latter year. Sinclair formally purchased the island from the Chippewa; see the deed thereto, in *Mich. Pion. and Hist Colls.*, xix, p. 633. This purchase later gave rise to the erroneous belief that Sinclair had purchased the Indian title to the present state of Wisconsin, as far as Prairie du Chien. For sketch of the fort of 1781, see *Id.*, x., p. 641.— Ed.

434 is granted on the tenth day of August in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty two & twenty second of his Majesty's reign in presence of the following Witness John Coates to which I have put my Hand & Seal of the post.

Patt Sinclair L t . Gov r .

Witness John Coates 45

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45 John Coates was a resident of Old Mackinac, and removed to the island with the British garrison. In 1780 he was appointed commissary, and clerk to the Indian department. He was later notary public for the island settlement. See Mackinac Register, *post.*— Ed.

Registered by me John Coates Not. Public.

### 1784: INDIAN DISCONTENT AT MACKINAC

[Letter from Capt. Alexander McKee to Sir John Johnson,<sup>46</sup> dated June 2, 1794. Reprinted from *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.* , xx, p. 229.]

46 Alexander McKee was a native of Pennsylvania, who after some experience in Indian trade was appointed deputy agent (1772) by Sir William Johnson. His sympathies were with the Loyalists at the outbreak of the Revolution, which led to his being arrested at Fort Pitt and placed upon parole. In March, 1778, he escaped to the British at Detroit, where he was made captain in the Indian department and deputy-agent. He was the leader of several forays against the American frontier, and after the Revolution was accused by Americans of inciting the tribesmen to war on the border whites. He had a large trading-house on the Maumee, and received native refugees from the battle of Fallen Timbers (1794). After the surrender of Detroit to the Americans (1796), McKee, who had now become colonel, removed to Malden, Ont., where he died Jan. 14. 1799.

Sir John Johnson was born in New York in 1742. Upon the death of his father, Sir William, he succeeded to his estate, but not to his official position. Sir John early joined the Loyalists in the American Revolution, was with St. Leger in 1778, and two years later twice raided the Mohawk valley. At the close of the Revolution he became superintendent of Indian affairs for British North America. He died at Montreal in 1837.— Ed.

Dear sir —An Express arrived late last night in five days from Michilimackinac; brings an account that some hostile Intentions <sup>435</sup> of the Indians there against that Post has been communicated to the Commanding officer.<sup>47</sup> I have had people constantly amongst the

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Indians to the Southward during the Spring and winter, some of whom arrived within this few days intimate an appearance of some uneasiness & frequent counciling amongst themselves which I attributed might be owing to the intrigues of the numerous persons now amongst them disaffected to us, and inclinable to prejudice them to His Majesty's interest. A deputation of the Shawanese lately passed into the Potawatomie's country informed me their business was to renew the Friendship subsisting between them & the Lake Indians formerly but I have employed proper people to watch them and find out what may be their real business or if anything father should pass between them. I am informed also that numbers of the Delawares are about leaving this Country to settle on the Spanish side of the Mississippi.<sup>48</sup> I am in hopes we shall be always able to discover in time their General Designs (should there be any against us) in time to prevent its effects.

47 See further account of this Ottawa plot in *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xi. pp. 413–415. — Ed.

48 This was the beginning of the migration which culminated in 1787, when 1200 Shawnee and 600 Delawares crossed the Mississippi and settled upon lands granted them by the Spanish authorities in Cape Girardeau and Ste. Geneviève counties.— Ed.

I have the honor to be with Respect D r Sir Yours & cc

A. McKee .

### 1784: A TRADER'S NOTE

[Translation of letter from George Gown to his brother. MS. in Chicago Historical Society, O. L. Schmidt Collection, No. 317.]

Michillimakinac July 15, 1784

Dear Brother —The present is to inform you that the state of My health is good, Praise to God. I Hope that This will 436 find you in a Like Condition. I have heard it said that you

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Wish to Ascend in order to Go to Matchidatch<sup>49</sup> To winter. But I inform you [MS. torn] that there is Nothing to do there. For there are always too many Merchants for The Post, two or three who go there from here and as many mere from Montreal, & you can. See by That that there is No Great Thing to do there. I Advise you likewise Not to allow yourself to be Inveigled By Mr. Thiery nor Defont; For Be Persuaded that they do Not Seek your Good; but will do Their Best to cause you to Perish. If you have a Desire to Come up By [MS. torn] let me Know For our [MS. torn] For That; also As Abraham & Jean who Will be delighted to See you. My compliments to your wife & Those who inquire for me, Without forgetting Gautier Rabott.

<sup>49</sup> For the location of Matchedash Bay, and the portage thence, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 313, note 2.— Ed.

I Am Dear brother Awakening news from you, your brother

Geo. Cown .

### 1784: NEWS FROM MACKINAC

[Letter from Capt. Daniel Robertson to Col. Daniel Claus.<sup>50</sup> Reprinted from *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.* , xi, p. 435.]

<sup>50</sup> Capt. Daniel Robertson entered the army as surgeon's mate in 1754; two years later he became ensign, and served in America, reaching the rank of lieutenant in April, 1762. The following year, upon the reduction of the army, Robertson was dismissed from the service, and settled in Montreal, where at the outbreak of the American Revolution he was a major of local militia. He again entered the army June 17, 1775, as captain of the 84th, was captured at St. John's, and held prisoner fourteen months. Upon his release and exchange he Joined his regiment in Canada, and was stationed at a post on the St. Lawrence until 1782, when he was sent (Sept. 20) to relieve Sinclair at Mackinac. His regiment was reduced the following year, but Robertson being appointed lieutenant-

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governor remained at Mackinac until his death by accident, May 10, 1757. Many romantic legends have attached themselves to his demise and the reputed place of his drowning on the island is still called "Robertson's Folly." He appears to have been an efficient officer and popular with the Indians.

For Daniel Claus, see *ante*, p. 256, note 52.— Ed.

Michilimackinac , 22nd July, 1784.

Sir —The Bearer Mr. Calvé arrived here a Week ago. I hope it has answered the intended purpose, in sending trim among the Indians, he has had some disagreement with a Mr. 437 Aird<sup>51</sup> now at Montreal from what I have heard this same Aird is a very improper Person to be in this Country, however Calvé will tell you the story himself.

51 Calvé had been sent to notify the Mississippi tribes of the formal ratification of peace between Great Britain and the United States; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, p. 687, and *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xx, p. 124.

James Aird was a prominent Scotch trader who arrived at Mackinac as early as 1779. He later had an extensive trade, and achieved large influence with the Western Indians. He removed to Prairie du Chien somewhere about the close of the eighteenth century, and was met by Pike on the latter's Mississippi voyage of 1805; he was by that explorer highly commended. Lewis and Clark met Aird on the Missouri in 1806, as did also Bradbury in 1810. In the War of 1812–15, Aird was pro-British and an efficient aid to Dickson. Later, he became connected with the American Fur Company, and died at Prairie du Chien Feb. 27, 1819. Consult *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ix, x, *passim*. Two of Aird's brothers, Robert and George, were likewise traders in the upper country.— Ed.

The Indians are pretty quiet considering that I have nothing for them. I would have wrote to Sir John Johnson was I not told he was going to England.



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I have the Honor to be with great regard Sir Your most obedt. huml. Servt.

Danl. Robertson .

*Col. Claus .*

[Letter from Capt. Daniel Robertson to General Haldimand. Reprinted from *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.* , xi, p. 442.]

Michilimackinac 5th Aug. 1784.

Sir —Your Excellency's Letter of the 14th of June last, I had the Honor to receive on the 3d instant, and the Detachment of 438 the 34th Regiment as therein mentioned arrived here the 4th instant—with the order of Relief and accordingly the Detachment of the 8th Regiment Embark to-morrow on board the Dunmore and Felicity for Detroit.

From my knowledge of Indians, the Traders & Commerce of this Country, with the situation of things at present, I humbly beg leave to represent to Your Excellency that this small Garrison is by no means adequate to a Post in those Parts—and very alarming to the well affected Traders who have some Property in hand, not less than four Thousand Packs from this Post and Dependencies, to Canada, this year and great outfits are made and now making for next year.

Since the report of the Ottawas intention against this Post, well founded, the Inhabitants have mounted a Guard of Twenty men every night by my desire and very cheerfully will continue so doing while there are a number of them sufficient for that purpose in the Traders' Village.

I have sent a Carefull man to Tesselon<sup>52</sup> with three Canadians to take charge of the effects there untill Your Excellency's Intentions be made known.

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52 When it was known at Mackinac that by the terms of the treaty of peace Mackinac Island would become American territory, Captain Robertson planned to remove the post to British territory, and chose the mouth of Thessalon River on the north shore of Georgian Bay. Here he had begun work for a fort, when ordered by Haldimand to desist, as there was no immediate prospect of surrendering the post at Mackinac. See *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xi, p. 373, for map.— Ed.

A Mr. Grant, a Loyalist just arrived from taking a view of Tessalon and tells me that the Soil &c are very excellent and that he can procure Three Family's with encouragement from Government to settle there.

Your Excellency's most obedt. most humble Servt.

Danl. Robertson .

*His Excellency General Haldimand .*

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### **1786: MACKINAC COMPANY IN THE ILLINOIS**

[Letter from John Edgar to Gen. George Rogers Clark, dated Oct. 23, 1786. MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library, Draper MSS., 53J55.]

Sir —I Rec d . yours by Express of the Eighteenth Instant and Observe the Contents of your Letter and am very happy to find that you put Confidence in me. There is nothing that I would not do to Serve General Clark, & my Country.

And you may Depend on me that I will Execute your Order or any other Orders, that you may think proper to enfaire on me, to the last tittle that is in my power, the inhabitants of these Villages is very much disaffected to the United States, owing much to the

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Michilamackinac Company, which holds a large Trading House at Cahokia for the supply of the Savages?<sup>53</sup>

<sup>53</sup> The origin of the Mackinac Company is obscure. In 1779 the majority of the merchants trading at Mackinac formed themselves into a “General Store” to protect their goods and traders from the ravages of the Indians who had gone over to the Americans; but this association only lasted a year (until July 31, 1780)—see *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, x, pp. 305, 367, 499, 600, and *Canadian Archives*, 1888, p. 61. Before the treaty of Paris had been formally signed, Mackinac merchants had established themselves at Cahokia, with a view to the Missouri River trade, and to dealings with the merchants of Spanish Louisiana; see narrative of J. B. Perrault in H. R. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes* (Philadelphia, 1853), iii, pp. 353–356. The company seems to have been formed about 1784, contemporaneously with the North West Company, and appears also to have been composed of much the same mercantile firms; although some members of the Mackinac Company, such as James Aird, Charles Patterson, and Robert Dickson were not members of the North West. The Mackinac Company operated almost entirely in American territory, from Cahokia on the south to the sources of the Mississippi on the north; and by means of St. Peter's River did a considerable business in Spanish Louisiana, reaching out toward the farther Sioux branches—Yankton and Teton. They operated through all of Wisconsin, northern Illinois Iowa, and most of Minnesota. After the Americans took possession of Mackinac, the company continued to operate, having rights under the clause of Jay's treaty protecting the British fur-trade. The British post was on the island of St. Joseph's, but most of the merchants still maintained some kind of establishment on Mackinac Island. After the Louisiana purchase, Lieut. Zebulon M. Pike was sent up the Mississippi to warn British traders from the west side of the Mississippi; not being included in the treaty of 1794, the Americans claimed that the British had no right to enter here. He found several trading-houses, flying British flags, which were ordered to be taken down. With the growing irritation between the United States and Great Britain, the situation of British traders on American territory became more and more difficult. In 1807 a convoy of the Mackinac Company was fired upon on Lake Ontario; see *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xxv, pp. 250–

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258. The following year, John Jacob Astor, an American citizen, organized the American Fur Company, and three years later bought out the interests of the Mackinac Company, consolidating it with his own, and forming the South West Company. He is said to have accorded one-third of the stock of the new company to four Prairie du Chien traders, Robert Dickson, Joseph Rolette, Murdoch Cameron, and James Fraser, formerly of the Mackinac Company. The War of 1812–15 suspended the operations of the South West Company, which in 1816 was reorganized as the American Fur Company, and began its later and better known career. Many of its chief traders and clerks were, however, former British subjects who had learned the business with the North West and Mackinac companies. The store at Cahokia was probably abandoned when St. Clair organized the Illinois country as part of Northwest Territory (1790).— Ed.

440 If any thing tourn up in the Illenois of Consequence I shall Immediately give you Intelligence by Express.

I am Sir your most Obed t . & Humble Serv t .

John Edgar 54

54 John Edgar was a Scotch-Irishman, who having had some seafaring experience was chosen to command a British vessel on the Great Lakes (1772–75). In the latter year, he established himself in business at Detroit. Secretly sympathizing with the Americans, he aided many prisoners to escape, and obtained valuable data for the American authorities. He was arrested therefor (Aug. 24, 1779), and sent as prisoner to Montreal, whence he managed to escape (1781), and brought useful information to Washington and Congress. Joining the American navy, he was captain therein until the close of the Revolution. In 1784 he returned to the Western country and established himself at Kaskaskia. There he soon became the leading citizen, justice of the court of common-pleas, militia officer, and a man of broad hospitality and influence. in 1798 Congress voted him 2240 acres of land as indemnity for his losses in the Revolution. In 1799 he was a member of the territorial legislature. In 1825 he entertained Lafayette at his home in Kaskaskia, where he finally

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died (Dec. 19, 1830). The present letter was written in response to Clark's request, on his return from the Miami expedition, that the Illinois merchants should sustain the garrison established at Vincennes. It is interesting to note, apropos of Edgar's reported disaffection of the Cahokian inhabitants to the United States, that Jean Baptiste Perrault claimed that Cahokia was on British territory ( *op. cit.* in note 53, *ante*).— Ed.

N. B. This Country is totally lost if we have not Government established here soon & c & c  
I was oblig d . to give St Ange a horse as the one he brought give out.

Kaskaskies 23 d Oct. 1786.

*George R. Clark Esq r . Post Vincent*

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### 1792: ENGLISH TRADERS IN UPPER LOUISIANA

[Letter from Las Casas, governor of Havana, to Baron de Carondelet,<sup>55</sup> dated Feb. 17, 1792. MS. in Archives of the Indies, Seville; pressmark, "Papeles procedientes de la Isla de Cuba."]

<sup>55</sup> Francisco Luis, Hector, Baron de Carondelet, was a native of Flanders (1747) and had been governor of San Salvador in Guatemala. In 1791 he was appointed governor of Louisiana, arriving at his post Jan. 1, 1792. Carondelet was a man of much ability and activity, and during a very trying period of intrigue and rumors of war he maintained his post and promoted Spanish interests. He was relieved in 1797, and promoted to be viceroy of Peru, dying in 1807.— Ed.

Your Lordship's predecessor, in letter no. 185, sent me a copy of another letter of the Lieutenant-Governor of Yllinois Don Manuel Perez,<sup>56</sup> in which the latter informed him of the entrance of the English into the Missouri River, and proposed as the only remedy the construction of two strong posts on the Moins and San Pedro Rivers.<sup>57</sup>

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56 Capt. Manuel Perez was an officer in the Louisiana regiment, being appointed lieutenant-governor of Illinois (Nov. 27, 1787) to succeed Cruzat. This office was held four years and eight months, when Perez returned to New Orleans and was promoted to be lieutenant-colonel of his regiment.— Ed.

57 The Des Moines and St. Peter's rivers. For the English trade, therein, see note 53, ante.— Ed.

Since said report does not contain sufficient information concerning 442 the causes and fundamental reasons for such an establishment for one who does not possess the necessary local knowledge of certain territories of which no map exists in the secretary's office of this captaincy-general; nor any public facts of any accuracy and exactness in order to form a judgment: your Lordship will continue to obtain all the fitting information for explaining to me what you believe advisable, and will, in the meantime, take for yourself whatever measures are urgent.

May God preserve your Lordship many years.

Luis De Las Casas

Havana , February 17, 1792.

*Baron de Carondelet .*

### **1794: MACKINAC INDIANS OPPOSE WAYNE**

[Extract from letter from Guillaume la Mothe to Joseph Chew,<sup>58</sup> dated Michilimackinac, July 19, 1794. Reprinted from *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.* , xx, p. 365.]

58 Guillaume la Mothe was a French-Canadian, born probably in 1744. In 1767 he was a trader in the Detroit district. On the outbreak of the Revolution, he was in New England, and brought information to the British at Quebec. Soon thereafter he was once more in

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Detroit, whence he went out on a scout with an Indian party in 1777. Elected captain of a company of habitant volunteers, he accompanied Hamilton on his Vincennes expedition, being there captured (1779) and kept in close confinement until exchanged in 1781. A broadside (printed at Williamsburg, Va.) in the Draper MSS. (pressmark, 49J154), prints the report of the council of war held by Clark and his officers June 16, 1779. where it was voted, as retaliation for the ill treatment of American prisoners by the British, that Henry Hamilton, Philip Dejean, and William Lamothe "be put in irons, confined in the dungeon of the public jail, debarred the use of pen, ink, and paper, and excluded all converse except with their keeper." In 1782, La Mothe was sent back to Detroit, with recommendations to the lieutenant-governor. He finally secured (1792) the appointment of interpreter at Mackinac. There he remained until the evacuation of this post by the British (1796), when he removed to St. Joseph's Island, and there died in 1799.

Joseph Chew was secretary for the Department of Indian Affairs at Montreal.— Ed.

All our warriors arrived yesterday with very little success, they have lost Twenty-five people amongst different Nations, the Americans on their side have lost thirty, and amongst them 443 were two prisoners which we received yesterday. The action was near Fort Recovery from which the Cannon & Shells were very much against the Indians.

Captain Doyle<sup>59</sup> desires his compliments to you and requests of you to send twelve Medals & twelve Flags to this place, the small medals you sent before the Indians will not accept of them.

<sup>59</sup> Capt. William Doyle joined the 24th foot as ensign in 1774. Two years later he became lieutenant, and served in that capacity until 1797, when he became captain. In 1792 he relieved Capt. Edward Charleton of the command at Mackinac, and was the last British commandant of that post, which he evacuated in August, 1796; he had meanwhile been promoted (May 6, 1795) to a majority. He continued with the regiment until 1804, having attained the rank of lieutenant-colonel.— Ed.

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There is likewise at Chikagoe Fifty Indians died of the Small Pox which alarms the Indians much in this Post.

[Letter from Capt. William Doyle to Charles Langlade. Translated from original MS, in Wisconsin Historical Library.]

Michilimackinac July 26th. 1794.

Sir — I have Received Your Letter dated the 23rd of June and Note with pleasure The Good Dispositions You seem to Manifest for Serving the Government. I have just Written to Colonel England commanding His Majesty's troops at Detroit<sup>60</sup>

<sup>60</sup> Richard England was an Irishman by birth, who enlisted in the army (1766) as ensign of the 47th infantry. He was promoted through the grades until he became major of the regiment in 1781, acting likewise as deputy quartermaster-general. In 1783 he was transferred to the 24th regiment as lieutenant-colonel, coming to command at Detroit in 1792. He was the last British commandant of that place, retiring with the surrender to the Americans (July, 1796). After returning to England he was made major-general (1796), and colonel of the 5th foot (1800). For a time he was governor of Plymouth, and after attaining the grade of lieutenant-general died Nov. 7, 1812. Colonel England was a man of gigantic stature, being six and a half feet in height. It is reported that the Prince of Wales asked his name, and on being told exclaimed, "England! He should be named Great Britain, at least!" He appears to have been a popular commandant at Detroit.— Ed.

444 and have Told him Your attachment to the service and I have no Doubt that you will not be forgotten if the Government needs Good Men.

I am Much pleased to learn that peace is restored Between The folles and The puants which cannot but be Most advantageous for The trade Of this part of the country.

Our Court Oreilles and Sauteux Warriors have returned to this post after assisting in The Defeat Of an American party of two Hundred men as they came out of fort recovery



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whither they had conveyed provisions. Several prisoners were taken together with three hundred and twenty-five horses and thirty Oxen. The loss of our warriors Was twenty-five persons Among all The Nations who Numbered fifteen Hundred. But three-fourths of them arrived after The action and attacked The fort when they lost a portion of The number Of twenty-five already mentioned.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>61</sup> The action here so well described was that known as the attack on Fort Recovery, an advance post built by Wayne (in the summer of 1794) on the site of St. Clair's defeat in Mercer County, Ohio. On the morning of June 30, a large body of Indians rushed upon a detachment of ninety riflemen and sixty rangers commanded by Maj. William McMahon, who were returning to Wayne's army after having escorted a pack-train of provisions to Fort Recovery. After losing many officers and men, the detachment found refuge within the fort, which was gallantly defended by a garrison of about two hundred, under command of Capt. Alexander Gibson. The object of the attack was undoubtedly to take the fort, and the Indians were supposed to be planning to discover and use St. Clair's cannon, that had been abandoned in 1791. These pieces had, however, been recovered by Wayne: and Fort Recovery proved impervious to the musketry attack, which was continued during the greater part of two days. This document shows that the repulse at Fort Recovery discouraged the northern auxiliaries, who took no part in the battle of Fallen Timbers.—Ed.

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The Warriors of this post were too precipitate in Their Return. This has Not pleased Their brothers, the Chauounons [Shawnee], Loup [Delawares], and Mis [Miamis], who had asked them to remain and help them to repel The americans who are to advance toward La Glaize where a portion of the Nations are Still assembled.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>62</sup> The river now called Au Glaize was so named from the clay at its mouth, where in early days there was a large buffalo wallow. The stream enters the Maumee from the south, and was an important pathway to the Miami rivers. A number of Indian villages lay along

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its banks, and a large British trading house was at its mouth; Blue Jacket's Shawnee village lay a mile below that. Wayne and his army arrived at the mouth of the Au Glaize August 8, 1794, and immediately began the erection of a fort, to which Wayne gave the name of Defiance. Traces of this fortification could be seen as late as 1846. In the second war with Great Britain a stockade was built near the site of Fort Defiance. known as Fort Winchester, from the then leader of the army.— Ed.

Mr Le Claire has just arrived from St Joseph<sup>63</sup> and he tells me that all Theoux of the Neighborhood Had started Ten Days before for la Glaize where the other nations had asked them to go.

<sup>63</sup> Probably Antoine le Clair, a native of Montreal, who first located as a trader at Parc Vache (Cowpens), near Terre Coupée in southwestern Michigan, also near the site of St. Joseph's fort. He was a blacksmith, but more occupied with Indian trade than at his forge. He married into the Potawatomi tribe, and in 1800 located at Milwaukee, where he remained until 1809, removing therefrom to Peoria, Illinois. During the War of 1812–15, Le Clair was employed by the American authorities in scouting, and securing information from the Indians. In 1812 his was one of the families removed from Peoria by Captain Craig. He does not appear to have returned there but to have made his later home at Portage des Sioux, Mo. He accompanied Forsyth into the Indian country in 1817, and died about 1821; see interview with his son in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, pp. 238–242; also "Forsyth Papers," in the Wisconsin Historical Library. A son of the same name was founder of Davenport, Iowa. — Ed.

There is every appearance that I shall receive News of another <sup>446</sup>Engagement before long<sup>64</sup> as I expect a king's barque to arrive at this post at any moment. I shall inform you of the. same by the first suitable opportunity so that you may communicate it, with this news, to my Children The folles [Menominee].

<sup>64</sup> The next engagement was the battle of Fallen Timbers, Aug. 20, 1794.— Ed.

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I have The honor To be Sir, Your Servant William Doyle , Capt. Commanding.

*Captain Langlade Captain of the Indian department at Labaie .*

### 1796: GREEN BAY CHIEF DESIRES A MEDAL

[Letter from Joseph Chew to Thomas Aston Coffin. Reprinted from *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.* ., xx, pp. 443, 444.]

Montreal 16h May 1796.

Dear Sir —few days ago I received a Message from Thomas a famous War Chief of the Follesavoine Nation<sup>65</sup> of Indians at La Ba on the Mississippi & requesting to have a Medal with

<sup>65</sup> Thomas Carron, known usually as Tomah (English phonetics for the French Thomas), was the son of Vieux Carron, for whom see *ante*, p. 364, note 85. Born at the Menominee village near the site of Fort Howard (about 1752), his abilities and moderation were such that he acquired a commanding influence with his people. He told Pike (1806) that he had refused to go to war against the Americans during the Revolution, and he also refused to enter Indian campaigns against Americans in 1789–94, also during the conspiracy of Tecumseh in 1811. He did, however, at the bidding of the British traders and officers, take a prominent part in the War of 1812–15, accompanying the attacking force that captured Mackinac, being at the sieges of Forts Meigs and Sandusky, aiding in the repulse of Americans from Fort Mackinac (1814), and serving in the campaign for the capture of Fort McKay (Prairie du Chien). In 1817 he visited St. Louis, but remained a British Indian until his death at Mackinac, late in 1817 or the following year. Tomah was a tall, majestic-looking Indian, and by his contemporaries always mentioned with respect. The city of Tomah, Wis., was named for him.— Ed.

<sup>447</sup> His Majesty's Arms sent to him, and being well informed of His Friendship for the English & the Influence he has with his nation, and not having time to make the requisition,

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I send the Medal by a Gentleman who left this place today for La Ba, and now inclose a requisition and a copy of the Message to be delivered with the Medal which I hope His Lordship may not disapprove of.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>66</sup> See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, p. 101, for other news from Mackinac in this year.— Ed.

\* \* \* \* \*

Am Dr Sir Your most obedt. humble Servant Joseph Chew

*Thos. Aston Coffin Esq .*

### **1796: BRITISH REMOVE FROM MACKINAC**

[Letter from Ensign Leonard Brown<sup>67</sup> to Col. Alexander McKee, dated Aug. 18, 1796. Source, same as preceding document, but p. 466.]

<sup>67</sup> Ensign Leonard Brown was appointed to the Queen's Rangers Sept. 1, 1791. In the summer of 1796 he was sent with twelve men to garrison the new post begun on St. Joseph's Island. It was apprehended that his small garrison and the discontent of the Indians might place him in a dangerous situation; he was therefore reinforced in September by a detachment of Canadian volunteers. In December of this year Brown was promoted to a lieutenancy in the 4th infantry, a rank maintained until 1799, when his name disappears from the British army lists.— Ed.

Sir —You being at the head of the Indian department I beg leave to inform you that the Island of St. Joseph<sup>68</sup> is at present entirely destitute of Indian stores. I am informed by Capt.

<sup>68</sup> When the news reached Mackinac of Jay's treaty with Great Britain, according to which the posts were to be delivered to the Americans on June 1, 1796, preparations were at once made by the commandant, Captain Doyle, to establish a post on St. Joseph's

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Island, within British lines, about forty miles to the northeast. June 14, 1796, Lieutenant Foster had been sent thither to begin the erection of a new fort. A small garrison from Niagara arrived in August, and the post was here maintained until the beginning of the War of 1812–15. For a view of the ruins of this post, see E. H. Capp, *Annals of Sault Sainte Marie* (Sault Ste. Marie, 1904), p. 173. Meanwhile Captain Doyle and his garrison withdrew from Mackinac, leaving only a noncommissioned officer with a few privates to protect the property until the arrival of American troops. The Americans took possession of Detroit (July 11, 1796), but owing to a scarcity of provisions were not able to advance to Mackinac until the following October. Secretary Winthrop Sargeant of the Northwest Territory seems to have gone to Mackinac in August; see *St. Clair Papers*, ii, pp. 405, 410. He was followed by two companies of United States troops, commanded by Maj. Henry Burbeck, who proceeded from Detroit and accepted the surrender of the last British post on American territory. Thus Wisconsin passed from British to American control.— Ed.

448 Lamothe that a supply was wrote down for last fall for this Post, if it is arrived I should wish it to be forwarded with all Possible dispatch and supposing it is not arrived it will be absolutely necessary to send up a good assortment from the Store at Detroit as the Indians talk of payment in the fall which now draws near very fast.

Capt. Lamothe likewise informs me that the supply wrote for, is not more than adequate to the payment, & this Fall's Presents the quantity wrote for being only for fall & spring presents, at all events therefore it will be necessary to send up a small supply for Spring unless we intend to break entirely with the Indians which would not be exactly the thing at this critical juncture of affairs of which I think they are rather jealous.

I have the Honor to be Sir your very humble Servant L. Brown ,

Ensign Queen's Rangers Commanding at St. Josephs

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### 1796: SPANISH ON THE UPPER MISSISSIPPI

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[Extract from the secret orders given to Lieut.-Col. Carlos Howard,<sup>69</sup> dated New Orleans, Nov. 26, 1796. MS. in Archives of the Indies, Seville; pressmark, "Papeles procedientes de la Isla de Cuba."]

<sup>69</sup> The occasion for issuing these orders and sending Colonel Howard to St. Louis was alarm over the reported gathering for an attack upon Louisiana by British forces, caused by the Spanish-British War, which was declared Oct. 7, 1796. France, who had previously been seeking to secure Louisiana either by force or diplomacy, had now become a Spanish ally; and had sent out Gen. Victor Collot to report on conditions in the Western country. His reports to the Spanish authorities alarmed the governor of New Orleans, who quickly dispatched a force to fortify St. Louis and guard the approaches on the upper Mississippi. In his report, Collot speaks of the former routes open to the English by the Fox-Wisconsin, Illinois, and Maumee-Wabash, as being blocked because of the surrender of the Northwest posts to the Americans. There was left the route via Lake Superior, Coppermine, Vermillion, and Chippewa rivers; or that from the west end of Lake Superior via River Froid (Cold) to the Mississippi; see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, x, p. 574.

Carlos Howard, whom Carondelet chose from his available officers for this advance to St. Louis, was an Irishman in the Spanish service. In 1790 he was secretary of East Florida, being at this time lieutenant-colonel in the regiment of Louisiana. He was in St. Louis from February to August, 1797; see *Missouri Hist. Colls.*, iii p. 71.— Ed.

There are two essential objects which are to occupy the attention of Lieutenant Colonel Carlos Howard, the defense of the town of San Luis, and the destruction of the English trade both on the upper Mississippi and on the Missouri. We have already treated of the former, and as far as concerns the latter, if immediately after having attended to providing his detachment with quarters, and received the necessary information, he should send an expedition to reconnoitre the banks of the Mississippi from San Luis to the mouth of the river San Pedro, it is likely that he would destroy and capture many English trading canoes, the goods in which may be divided, half to the king, and half to those who

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compose the expedition. But for the sake of protection against an attack by the savages on the side of 450 [in alliance with] the English, it will be best to include in the expedition the gunboat with the galiots, since the heavy artillery on the former will alarm them and put them to flight.

In the year 1781 a small party of the inhabitants of San Luis with some savages made themselves masters of the post of San José, on the river of the same name which flows into Lake Michigan. That which they did then may be accomplished now with greater means and more complete knowledge. The militia captain, Don Carlos Tayon, who was in the expedition, is still alive, and I do not doubt that he can inform you of the means of capturing and destroying this post a second time.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>70</sup> See *ante*, pp. 430–432. There was no post on the St. Josephs at this time, a fact of which Carondelet was apparently in ignorance. William Burnett had a trading house at this place, but entirely under American jurisdiction; see Henry H. Hurlbut, *Chicago Antiquities* (Chicago, 1881), pp. 62–64. Probably Carondelet confused the British post on St. Joseph's Island, in St. Mary's River, with the former British fort on St. Josephs River, in southwest Michigan.— Ed.

An expedition of the same force may be detached against any other post which the English have established to carry on their trade in furs on the nearer rivers. But providing the latest reports received by Governor Don Zenon Trudeau<sup>71</sup> confirm the news of the establishment of a fort by the English among the Mandana tribe you will arrange as secretly as possible, and taking advantage of all the knowledge which you can acquire from the traders who have gone as far as this tribe, an expedition sufficient to destroy the post,<sup>72</sup> for the command of His Majesty

<sup>71</sup> Zenon Trudeau was of Canadian birth (1748), apparently the son of a merchant prominent in New Orleans during the last years of the French regime. In 1781 he married at New Orleans, and having entered the Spanish service was captain in the Louisiana

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regiment. In 1792 he was appointed governor of Upper Louisiana. which post he held until 1799. He died a few years later in St. Charles Parish, Louisiana.— Ed.

72 The Mandan Indians were early visited by French explorers; see *ante*, p. 188, note 40. Just how early the English traders had reached this point from the north is not known. A Canadian, René Jessaume, claimed to have been in these villages as early as 1791. In 1793 the English had some sort of a wintering fort among them. The Missouri Company, formed of Spanish merchants, sent out an expedition in 1795 under the charge of one Mackay, who wintered with the Omaha; and the next spring dispatched a Welsh employee, Lewis Evans, to explore the upper Missouri and expel the British traders from those waters. Evans found an English fort on the Missouri, apparently below the Mandan villages; see his map in *Original Journals of Lewis and Clark Expedition*, viii. No. 2—a manuscript copy made by the American explorers, and frequently referred to by them in their outward course. Evans caused the English flag to be removed from this fort, and claimed to have driven off the intruding traders (unpublished manuscript from Archives of the Indies, Seville). In 1797, however, David Thompson, the English astronomer and explorer, was at the Mandan villages, but no English blockhouse appears to have again been erected in this region. See also L. R. Masson, *Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest* (Quebec, 1889), i, pp. 286, 294, 299–393. The success of Evans's voyage to the upper Missouri was not known in New Orleans when Carondelet issued these orders.— Ed.

451 upon this point is positive and admits of no neglect and no more delay than is necessary for the selection of the station most favorable to the success of the expedition.

It is very likely that the French will attack Canada by the San Lorenzo river, and will excite a rebellion in their favor that will certainly oblige the governor of Canada to devote all his attention and to take all his forces to Alto Canada. Lieutenant Colonel Don Carlos Howar[d] will try beforehand to obtain information as to the forces and the situation of the English posts, and as to the temper of the inhabitants, especially in Michelimakinak, in



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order, in the case supposed, to excite at the same time a revolution in Baxo Canada<sup>73</sup> in favor of France. This would entirely protect Alta Luisiana from the English during the war. Since the inhabitants of San Luis have had close connections with those of Michelimakinak, there will be no great difficulty in forming secret relations with the latter; and you may promise immediately to send arms and ammunition, and

<sup>73</sup> The Spanish terms “Alto Canada” and “Baxo Canada” are the reverse of those used by the French and English—“alto” (upper) meaning with them the St. Lawrence valley, and “baxo” (lower) the region about Mackinac.— Ed.

<sup>452</sup> may even support them with the expedition in case as I have said the English governor withdraws his troops from Baxo Canada to oppose the French in Alto Canada.

The forces which may be employed, if any, in these expeditions referred to, must not exceed two hundred men divided between regular troops and militia. It is understood that of the first, that is, of the regular troops, no more than forty men are to be withdrawn, whose function will be particularly the serving of the artillery, provided there may be employed in the expedition some light pieces, the effect of which will be very useful with the savages. Of the militia as many as two hundred of the most loyal and courageous may be chosen for each expedition. They may be promised a part of the booty in ease any of consequence is taken. The same promise may be made to volunteers who may be willing to serve on the expedition without pay. The others shall enjoy the accustomed pay as long as they may be employed, and shall receive a daily ration. If the complement of the regular regiment is made up, and if His Majesty determines that the body of the tribes in the province may be taken out of it, the garrison of San Luis will be reinforced to put it in a better condition to disturb the English and above all to destroy their trade to the north of the Misuri.

### **1797: ARRANGEMENTS FOR BOUNDARY COMMISSIONERS**

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[Letter from James McGill to Herman Witsins Ryland. Reprinted from *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.* , xxv, pp. 137–139.]

Montreal , 7th February 1797.

Sir —On the 30th Ultimo I had the Honor of acknowledging receipt of Your Letter of the 26th. desiring by request of General Prescott<sup>74</sup> that I would give my opinion “Where it would

<sup>74</sup> Gen. Robert Prescott (1725–1816) entered the army in 1755, and through successive ranks rose to be general in 1798. He served under Amherst and Wolfe, in the American Revolution, and in 1796 was chosen governor of Canada to succeed Dorchester, a position which he held for three years.— Ed.

<sup>453</sup> be most convenient for the Commissioners on the part of His Majesty to meet those from the United States and the most convenient Route for carrying the Provision and Baggage requisite for that Service” (a survey to be made of certain parts of the River Mississippi) “from this Province to the Falls of St. Anthony with any other information which I or the gentlemen concerned in the North West Trade may Judge to be of importance on the above business” and I shall now endeavour to fulfill His Excellency's request.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>75</sup> This request for information from the North West Company merchants was the result of a clause in the treaty of 1794, whereby a joint survey was to be made of the line of boundary specified in the treaty of 1783. This line was to strike due west from the Lake of the Woods to the Mississippi. It was already suspected that this was an impossible line, as explorers were discovering that the source of the Mississippi did not reach so far north as originally supposed. The survey here planned for, did not take place. In 1795 David Thompson of the North West Company made a survey proving that the source of the Mississippi was south of the line to be drawn. The matter was left in abeyance until after the treaty of Ghent (1814). This report of McGill contains, however, the best information to be had in 1797 of the region of the upper lakes and the Mississippi.— Ed.

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I conceive that the fittest Place for the Commissioners to meet will be at Michilimackinac and the properest conveyance for the Provisions and Baggage as well as themselves to be the Route of the Lakes.

At Michilimackinac they must be provided with one or more large Canoes and six stout Canoe men for each Canoe, as the number of Persons to be employed and quantity of Baggage necessary may require; and I should conceive that one Canoe for each Commissioner may be sufficient; a Canoe can carry conveniently eight Persons and two Tons or two and a half Tons weight throughout the proposed voyage but not more. Provisions for the Canoe men can be readily had at Michilimackinac and generally consist of Indian Corn boiled, Flour, Pork and 454 Grease, but the Commissioners ought to be provided with other stores from Montreal where they can be put up in proper Packages for Canoes.

The fittest season to leave Michilimackinac would be as soon as the navigation is open, that is early in May, in order to attempt performing the service in one season, but as this would render it absolutely necessary for the Commissioners to pass the winter at that Post, it may be more proper to fix on the Summer, any time previous to the 15th September at the latest; and if they could leave it with the Traders who set out in July for the Falls of St. Anthony, or rather River St. Peters which is adjacent, they would have the benefit of their local knowledge and acquaintance with the Indians who are on their Route or in the Country proposed to be surveyed.

In leaving Michilimackinac in July or even up to the 15th September there is sufficient time to get to the St. Anthony & higher up the Mississippi, which I conceive will be necessary as shall hereafter be shewn: The voyage from Michilimackinac to the Falls may readily be performed in six weeks, but from the Falls to that part of the Mississippi from whence I conceive a Line is to be drawn to Wood Lake I am of opinion that Four Weeks more will be fully employed, for the River then becomes Rapid and Shallow: and the distance is estimated to be 300 Leagues: now if the Line is to be drawn by actual survey, as by

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only ascertaining the Latitude and Longitude at different Points from the sources of the Mississippi to Wood Lake I doubt much whether in one season it could be effected. supposing the Commissioners to leave Michilimackinac in May, still less could they perform the service if the survey begins at or below the Falls. To me therefore it appears that the Commissioners must of necessity pass a Winter on the Mississippi, and the best place in my opinion will be as near as conveniently can be done to that part from which they are to run the Line to Wood Lake.

There must be two good Interpreters. one for the Scioux Language and another for the Chip##, both of them may be procured at Michilimackinac.

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Suitable Presents of Indian Goods must be sent with the Commissioners and also goods to procure Provisions in the Fall and for the winter and to bring the parrot back which probably may require the addition of a third Canoe. The value of the Presents and Goods may be estimated at Five to Six hundred Pounds Currency for the Commissioners on the part of His Majesty. And as the Indians who inhabit the higher parts of the Mississippi are very hostile to one another frequently out in War Parties and do not then discriminate Friend from Foe; besides it being natural to suppose that they will see with Jealousy other People than their usual Traders among them and on a very different business, it may be necessary to send them Belts to acquaint them with the Business and to desire that they refrain from War whilst it is going on.

I shall now take a view of the Mississippi from the Falls of St. Anthony to its source as generally known to the Traders, the distance is estimated at 300 Leagues, which I am inclined to consider exaggerated, probably it may be 200 Leagues by Water. After leaving the Falls & proceeding upwards the first River you meet with which comes from the west and has the appearance of being a chief Branch of the Mississippi is called Crowwing River; in the Chippewa Tongue *Cocakiwing Scipi* and is computed to be 100 Leagues from

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the Falls. I was at this River in winter 1771–2, but I do not conceive the distance to be so great.

The next remarkable place is on the east side & the further Distance of 100 Leagues by similar computation and is called Sandy River which is the Route coming from the Southwest end, or Fond du Lac Superior to enter the Mississippi; proceeding upwards to the extent of 100 Leagues more by vulgar estimation many Rivulets are met with on both sides until you arrive at Lac de Sang Lue or Leech Lake which has always been considered the greatest source of the Mississippi; they say it is 10 Leagues Long and from 3 to 4 Broad.

Now the fittest place in my Judgment for passing the Winter is at the Crowwing River or some other place nearer to the Falls 456 of St. Anthony, because there is plenty of large game to be met with to supply the Party with Provisions during the Fall and through the Winter, an object of great moment, for were it necessary to carry Provisions for 12 or 15 months which may be the time necessary to compleat the Survey, three canoes would not be sufficient.

Along with the Party I would recommend a few Hunters to be got from among the Ottawas of Michilimackinac to accompany and reside with them, not only as a proper measure to guard against scarcity but as of use also to insure the good will of the Indians of the Country.

But as a previous and indispensable step I would advise that Belts be sent to the two great and Rival Nations the Scioux and Chippewas inviting them to Michilimackinac or St. Joseph's Island in the Spring of 1798 or in The Spring of the year when the Commissioners are to proceed, there to inform them of the intended Survey and of the Peace which now subsists between Us and the United States.

I have the honor to be Sir Y. M. O. & V. H. S.

James McGill

*Herman Witsins Ryland, Esqr .*

**1797: RAID ON THE MISSISSIPPI**

[Extract from a letter of Thomas Duggan<sup>76</sup> to Joseph Chew, dated St. Joseph, July 9, 1797. Source, same as preceding document, but vol. xx. pp. 522, 523.]

<sup>76</sup> Thomas Duggan was storekeeper of Indian goods at Detroit, 1792–95. In the latter year he was sent in the same capacity to Mackinac; and after the British evacuation of that post removed to St, Joseph's Island, where he retained his official position until his death (Dec. 19, 1803).— Ed.

Your apprehensions were very well grounded with respect to our Indian Friends not having a favorable opinion of us at the <sup>457</sup> time of Our Evacuating the Post of Michilimackinac, but that is now done away & they appear to be as much attached to us as ever, & I have the pleasure of informing you that the Indians since our coming to this Post have conducted themselves entirely to our satisfaction.

\* \* \* \* \*

I have not heard of any Ottawas being killed by the Sioux, but it is certain that forty-five Chippewas were killed by them at Lake Sable and were made Prisoners, five of the Sioux were killed. this spring our Traders in the Mississippi were nearly pillaged by the Saques & Renards headed by some Traders from St. Louis with authority from the Spanish Commandant of that place, fortunately for our Traders a party of Sioux were at La Prairie du Chien which overawed the other Indians and their property was saved.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>77</sup> So far as known, no other account of this Spanish raid on Prairie du Chien has been preserved. It is worthy of note, however, that B. W. Brisbois, one of the early settlers of this

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Wisconsin town, protested to Dr. Draper that it was the Spanish not the Americans who were feared; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ix, pp. 289–291. This raid was no doubt sent out under the direction of Howard, who was in St. Louis during the summer of 1797, to guard against a British attack; see *ante*.— Ed.

### 1797: AMERICANS VISIT NORTHWEST POSTS

[Extract from a letter of Guillaume La Mothe to Joseph Chew, dated St. Joseph, August 30th, 1797. Source, same as preceding document, but p. 530.]

We were visited the 24h of this month by General Wilkinson<sup>78</sup> who was up at the Rapids of St. Mary's & gave presents

<sup>78</sup> James Wilkinson was born in Maryland in 1757, and early in the Revolution entered the army, accompanied Arnold to Quebec, and served on the staff of Gates. Being concerned in the Conway Cabal, he was retired from service, and settled in Kentucky, where he carried on trade with New Orleans and became involved in Spanish intrigues. In 1791 he was reinstated in the army, and the following year was brigadier-general. At the death of Wayne (1796), the supreme command of the army devolved upon him, and from 1797–98 he was at Detroit. In October of the latter year he removed to Fort Adams, on the Mississippi. Accused of connection with Burr's conspiracy, Wilkinson was tried by court-martial (1811) and acquitted. At the close of the War of 1812–15 he retired to Mexico, where he died in 1825.— Ed.

458 & Flags to the Indians there, he has also sent one of his officers to Lake Superior to do as he has done, on his arrival at Mackinac he assembled all the Nations & had a great council there, after which he gave out Flags & Presents, as soon as I hear the particulars of the council I will let you know by the first opportunity.<sup>79</sup>

<sup>79</sup> Wilkinson left Detroit August 3, 1797, and was absent on this tour of the northern posts just one month, arriving in Detroit Sept. 3.— Ed.

**1799: BRITISH PROTECTION AGAINST SPANISH**

[Letter from Prideaux Selby<sup>80</sup> to Peter Russell. Source, same as preceding document, but vol. xxv, pp. 184–187.]

<sup>80</sup> Prideaux Selby was assistant secretary of the Indian Department at Detroit from 1790 to the evacuation; he then removed to Sandwich, where he remained until his headquarters were removed (1807) to York. In 1812 he was a member of the council of Upper Canada.— Ed.

Sandwich , 23rd January 1799.

Sir —The probability of an attack on this Province in the ensuing Spring as expressed in Your Honors several letters to the late Deputy Superintendent General<sup>81</sup> induced that respectable officer, ten or twelve days before his death to honor me with a communication of many important matters relative to the defence thereof; and I should ill discharge the Duty I owe to the public and my Country were I to conceal on the present alarming occasion the plans and observations which it was his intention

<sup>81</sup> Col. Alexander McKee, for whom see *ante*, p. 434, note 46.— Ed.

459 of submitting through Your Honor to His Excellency the Governor General, for the purpose of defeating any attempts which our Enemies might make on this part of the Country.

They were these

“That the Barrier which the United States presents is of so high a consideration unless the people of Kentucky and of the Ohio should join our Enemies or permit them to pass unmolested through their North Western Territory, little danger to this Province is to be apprehended by that Rout. But that the water communication by the Ouisconsin to Lake Michigan, (except an inconsiderable carrying place between that and Fox river) opens an



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easy passage for the introduction of Troops and all manner of stores either by the way of Chicago or Missilimackinac.

“That the rout by the Illinois river tho' much nearer, does not afford such advantages for bringing forward supplies as the Ouisconsin, and altho' in the Spring of the Year, the waters are always high by the dissolving of the Snow and frequent rains at that season yet it is presumed the swelling of the Illinois may have subsided before an army could be in readiness to take the advantage of that circumstance and it must be observed also that there are many interruptions on this communication such as Rapids and Shallow waters. The Ouisconsin therefore appears their most [best] rout as it is the easiest and most secret as well from its distance from any body of Traders as from the little intercourse we have with the Indians inhabiting that part of the Country.

“In order therefore to meet every contingency the late deputy Superintendent General proposed to collect all the Indians in this part of the Country and a part of those about Missilimackinac and the Island of St. Joseph in this vicinity as early as possible in the Spring; and numerous small scouting parties from them as well as confidential messengers sent off to watch the motions of the Enemy in all directions; and to obtain by this means early intelligence of all their movements; this defensive force independent of regular Troops and Militia may on a 460 moderate computation be estimated at three thousand fighting men.

“The Sakies and Foxes on the Ouisconsin and Fox River were by all possible means & exertions to be induced to resist any attempt of the French, Spanish, or unfriendly Indians to pass through their Country, for which purpose a considerable present was to be sent to each of the Nations by three of their young men who winter here accompanied by two Confidential Messengers, one of whom was to bring back with him some of their principal chiefs to confirm the friendship which was entered into (or pretended to be so) last fall at Amherstburg, and who would be considered by their Nations as hostages for their fidelity to Great Britain;<sup>82</sup> for if these nations have been seduced by General Collot<sup>83</sup> or his

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agents it is not improbable that their late visit to this Country may be preparatory to their entering it in a hostile manner; the other Messenger to remain among these people to give the earliest information of the approach of an enemy in that quarter or of any suspicious movements of the Indians themselves.

82 See an account of the embassy of these tribes and their leaving men to winter near Sandwich, in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, pp. 105, 108.— Ed.

83 Gen. George Victor Collot was born in 1751, and while still a young man joined the army, serving on Rochambeau's staff in the American Revolution. In 1793 he was appointed by the convention as governor of Guadeloupe, where after some difficulty he replaced a Royalist commandant. In April of the following year he surrendered the island to an English fleet, with the stipulation that he be allowed to retire to the United States. The French minister Adet commissioned Collot to make a tour of the Western country, to observe the temper of the inhabitants and the military situation. Leaving Philadelphia in March, 1796, he went down the Ohio, visiting Kentucky and St. Louis, and going down the Mississippi to New Orleans. He returned to Philadelphia in January, 1797. The results of his observations were embodied in a book published (1826) in Paris in French and English editions. The general himself died in Paris in 1805. For the underlying purposes of his journey, see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, x, p. 275.— Ed.

“The late Colonel McKee had also turned his thoughts to the great public advantages, to be derived from the spontaneous 461 offer of service and the friendly intercourse he had the last two years with the Scioux, a nation unquestionably composing the best Indian Warriors in America, are all mounted and muster about 6,000 men; and his opinion was that the Government should avail itself of their services on this occasion and also of the services of our old friends and fellow soldiers the Follesavoines or Monamanies who inhabit a large Tract of Country near the Prairie du Chene between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi.

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"These nations with a few British officers among them were proposed to be sent down the Mississippi and to engage any Enemy they might meet; and if there should be no appearance of troops or hostile Indians they were to be directed to proceed as low down as possible and keep up a constant alarm to prevent the Spaniards, French, or Indians in their Interest from venturing to any distance from their own Settlements.

"In case the Enemy should advance through the American Territory unmolested or by any other rout the Indians (to be assembled in this neighborhood) were under proper officers to march and take some advantageous position on the Road and give them Battle before they made a near approach to this place and if unfortunately defeated they were to retreat to Amherstburg or wherever else directed to make a last effort in conjunction with the regular force of the Country."

These are the general outlines of the plan which the late Deputy Superintendent General designed to submit to the consideration of. His Excellency the Commander in Chief and which I now beg leave to present to Your Honor.

I have the Honor to be Sir &c.

P. Selby .

*His Honor Peter Russell, Esqr., &c. &c. &c .*

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### **1800: LANGLADE'S BUSINESS AFFAIRS**

[Letter from Charles Langlade to Rocheblave and Porlier.<sup>84</sup> Translated from original MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library.]

<sup>84</sup> The firm of Rocheblave and Porlier was formed about 1798, and dissolved in 1810. It was composed of Noel Rocheblave and Jacques Porlier. Of the former but little is known;

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he is supposed to have been a nephew of Philippe Rastel, Sieur de Rocheblave—for whom see *ante*, p. 214, note 70—and either cousin or brother of Pierre de Rocheblave of the North West Company.

Jacques Porlier was prominently connected with early Wisconsin history. Born at Montreal in 1765, he was educated for the priesthood, but preferred the more exciting life of the fur-trader. He was in Mackinac while quite young, and in 1791 permanently located at Green Bay where he was clerk and family tutor for Pierre Grignon. He spent the winter of 1792–93 in the wilderness, where he met Marguerite Gresie, whom he brought home as his bride. In 1797 he was trading for himself in northwest Wisconsin, and having formed a partnership with Rocheblave became a trader and outfitter at Green Bay. Porlier's educational advantages gave him a prominent place in the community west of Lake Michigan. In 1815 he was commissioned militia captain by the British, holding a similar office under the Americans, who in 1820 appointed him judge of Brown County court. Although unable to speak English, Porlier could read that language, and carefully translated into French the code then in vogue. In 1821 his trading operations were conducted under the firm name of Grignon, Lawe & Porlier, acting as agents for the American Fur Company. Porlier was much respected. and held office as judge until the organization of Wisconsin Territory (1836). He died at his Green Bay home, July 12, 1839. A large number of his papers were presented to the Wisconsin Historical Society by his son.— Ed.

Michilimackinac July 26th, 1800.

*Messrs Rocheblave and Porlier .*

Gentlemen —As in my power of Attorney of this date, I refer you to a notice for The Disposal of the [money] that may be Derived from the sale of my Lands, my intention is that you begin by keeping one hundred and twenty Livres for The costs that may be

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incurred here. After retaining that Sum, The first Debt to be paid Will be that due Mr Grayson for six Thousand one hundred and eighty-three Livres. Two sols; and,

LANGLADE'S LETTER TO ROCHEBLAVE AND PORLIER Dated, July 26, 1800. Reduced facsimile of original

463 after the above payments are made, to Mr Frank three hundred and eighty Livres, and to Mr. Bouthillier<sup>85</sup> The amount of my Note. If there be any balance it will remain with you on account.

<sup>85</sup> Jacob Franks was an English Jew who came to the Northwest in 1794, acting as clerk at Green Bay for a Montreal house. In 1797 he commenced trading on his own account, and brought to Green Bay his nephew, John Lawe, who became one of the leading settlers of the Fox River community. Franks built the first mills in the neighborhood, and in the early years of the nineteenth century was in partnership with Robert Dickson and James Aird. He had had some connection with John Jacob Astor previous to 1811. In that year Astor implored him to keep the Indians at peace. At the beginning of the War of 1812–15, Franks determined to leave Lawe to care for his interests at Green Bay, and to return himself to Montreal, and take charge of the outfitting. In 1814, while bringing goods from Montreal, he was stopped by the news of the American invasion. Later he interceded with the American authorities at Detroit for a confirmation of lands and for licenses for the Green Bay traders. He himself never made Green Bay his home after the war, continuing at Montreal, where he died (apparently before 1823).

There resided at Montreal a family named Bouthillier, one of whose members married Pierre de Rocheblave. François Bouthillier was an early resident of Prairie du Chien. In 1819 he was in partnership with Joseph Rolette, and in the same year was commissioned associate judge of Crawford County. He had dealings with the lead mines as early as 1819, and finally (1832) removed to Fever (Galena) River, where he died a year or two later.— Ed.

I remain, Gentlemen Your very humble servant, Langlade , Captain.<sup>86</sup>

<sup>86</sup> This letter—so far as known to us, the only autograph of Charles Langlade—and the succeeding document clearly prove that he did not die as early as has been claimed; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii, p. 235, viii, p. 222.— Ed.

Adhemar St. Martin, witness .

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### **1800: SPANIARDS FEAR AN ATTACK BY LANGLADE**

[Letter from Marquis de Casa Calvo<sup>87</sup> to Count d'Urquijo, dated New Orleans, Oct. 19, 1800. MS. in Archives of the Indies, Seville; pressmark, "Papeles procedientes de la Isla de Cuba."]

<sup>87</sup> Sebastian de Calvo de la Puerta y O'Farril, Marquis de Casa Calvo, was a Spaniard of a noble house, connected with O'Reilly, the first Spanish governor of Louisiana. With that official he came (1769) to New Orleans at the age of eighteen, as cadet. In 1793 he was in command in San Domingo, when that country was threatened by an insurrection. Upon the death of Gayoso de Lemos in 1799, Casa Calvo was sent from Cuba to act as military governor of Louisiana. In that capacity he ruled the province for eighteen months, to be in turn superseded by Salcedo. In 1803 Casa Calvo was made commissioner of the Spanish government to deliver the province to the French prefect. Arriving in New Orleans on March 7, it was not until Nov. 30 that arrangements were completed and the ceremony of Spanish abdication performed. Casa Calvo did not immediately leave New Orleans, even after the cession to the United States, but remained as commissioner of boundaries, taking a journey (1805) into Texas, and safe-guarding Spanish interests in West Florida. In February, 1806, the American Governor Claiborne sent him his passports. with a courteous request to leave New Orleans, whereupon Casa Calvo retired to Pensacola.— Ed.

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Your Excellency —After having informed Your Excellency of occurrences to the 8th of the current month, yesterday I received a letter from the Lieutenant-Governor of the settlements of Ylinoa, Don Carlos Dehault Delassus, Lieutenant-Colonel by brevet in the regular regiment of Luisiana.<sup>88</sup> He informs

<sup>88</sup> Carlos de Hault Delassus, son of Pierre Delassus de Luzière, was born near Lille in 1764. At the age of eighteen he entered the Spanish service and was promoted to a lieutenant-colonelcy for bravery in a battle of 1793. Member of the royal body-guard at Madrid, he had fine prospects of promotion, which he relinquished to come to America, whither his father's family, driven from France by the Revolution, had preceded him. In 1796 Carondelet appointed Delassus governor of New Madrid, whence three years later he was promoted to the governorship of Upper Louisiana, with headquarters at St. Louis. In 1802 he was made colonel in the Spanish army, and in February, 1804, surrendered the province to Capt. Amos Stoddard, representative of both France and the United States. Delassus remained at St. Louis until the following October, materially aiding the new administration; he then joined his regiment in Pensacola, whence he was sent to command at Baton Rouge. Resigning from the army in 1810, he again lived in St. Louis (1816–27), and returned from there to New Orleans, where he died in 1843.— Ed.

465 me in that letter, dated August 20, last, that he has had advices that the English of Canada are making efforts to get together an expedition with the various numerous Indian tribes of the upper Mississippi and attack our possessions under the direction of the famous interpreter and leader, Langlade, as captain.<sup>89</sup> The latter on May 26th, 1780, covered the invasion made by the Englishmen, Esse, against the said posts where a terrible massacre was made, although the English were driven out.

<sup>89</sup> This news appears to have been founded on a rumor, which had no basis of fact. There is nothing in the British archives, as far as published, that would indicate such design; see, however, *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xv, pp. 24, 25; and *St. Clair Papers*, ii, 498, where it is stated that the British are at the bottom of the restlessness among the tribes, and

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inciting them to attack the Spanish. Delassus seems to have sent his brother, Jacques St. Vrain, then in command of the gunboats on the Mississippi, on a precautionary expedition towards Prairie du Chien; see Billon, *Annals of St. Louis*, pp. 365, 370.— Ed.

As soon as the American commandant of Peoria, Juan Miller,<sup>90</sup> repeated it to him [De Lassus] and confirmed the news by proving that he had kept back by presents of liquor the collars (girdles made by woven beads which serves as credentials to the Indian messengers in order to convoke the tribes when one attempts to declare war) which were passing among the Indians, [De Lassus] sent a cask of brandy to meet Miller's expense. By such presents, the Indians will continue to maintain good relations with us; if at the same time also the above-mentioned 30

<sup>90</sup> Probably this was Jean du Moulin, who in 1800 was appointed commandant of the militia of St. Clair County; see *St. Clair Papers*, ii, p. 495. He was a native of Switzerland, who settled at Cahokia some time before 1787; see *Ill. Hist. Colls.*, ii, index. His residence was at Cahokia, but he seems to have had many relations with Peoria. A man of education, and of a commanding presence, he acted after 1790 as judge of the court of common pleas. He died at his residence near Falling Spring, in 1808.— Ed.

466 American commandant is requested to observe article 5 of the treaty of friendship and boundaries.

At the same time [De Lassus] learned that the English were about to hold a council with the Indian tribes at the Straits of the Lake of Santa Clara [St. Clair] and as the greater part of them inhabit American territory, he also wrote to the commandants of the posts of the United States, namely Vincennes,<sup>91</sup> Michilimakina, and others, despatching the letters by two faithful habitants with orders to ascertain at the same time and communicate whatever they can discover in regard to this matter. Each one of them was promised a pay of two hundred pesos and the storekeeper of those posts was ordered to provide victuals for two months for the number of six hundred men. De Lassus made ready artillery, arms, and ammunition, and advised the commandants of that jurisdiction to have their militia ready,



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for whom he sent guns, taking as many military dispositions as have appeared suitable for the defense of those remote countries.

91 The colonel of militia at Vincennes (appointed by St. Clair in 1800) was Francis Vigo, a Sardinian, who after resigning from the Spanish army entered the fur-trade, with headquarters at St. Louis. There he came into relations with George Rogers Clark, and assisted him with funds and information. Some time after Clark's campaigns, Vigo became an American citizen, and settled at Vincennes, where he took active part in building up the new government, being member of the territorial assembly as well as colonel of militia. He died at an advanced age in 1836. His claims were paid by the United States government to his heirs, in 1875.— Ed.

The Lieutenant-Governor, Lassus, was very confident of obtaining the success of his preparations, their own defense and that of their possessions and families being an incentive to those habitants, which has made them show generally in the review the most ready and effective determination so that all the citizens of the capital city of San Luis, even those past sixty years have presented themselves with their carabines, thus giving a good example to the young men. It is believed that, if the crisis comes, the greatest difficulty will be to restrain these so that they may not exhibit too great rashness. The letter concludes 467 by assuring me that, although he counts only on the forces which he has there, I may rest assured of his zeal, which, assuredly, will not allow him to neglect any effort which he believes suitable for the defense and honor of our arms, in order that the settlements under his command may be conserved.

The inclement season of the winter and the distance of five hundred leagues do not permit the prompt sending of any reinforcements to him for they would arrive late, as it is not possible to penetrate by water, for the river, from forty leagues below those settlements, is frozen from November until March. However, the great valor of the Lieutenant-Governor, seven hundred and eighty-six good militiamen, and the many Indians, who can be mustered in the eleven villages<sup>92</sup> under his command remove all fear

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from me. Meanwhile, for my part, I am doing my best to arouse the Indian tribes to resist or destroy the premeditated invasion of Langlade.

92 These villages were Ste. Geneviève, New Bourbon, Cape Girardeau, New Madrid, Carondelet, St. Andrew, St. Ferdinand, St. Charles, Portage des Sioux, Maramek, and St. Louis. These represent the increase under Spanish rule from those mentioned *ante*, p. 290, note 13.— Ed.

In my former letters I have shown how advisable it will be to form new settlements on the west bank of the Mississippi, with faithful men, well inclined toward our government, in order to oppose the continual projects of the Americans; and my idea is corroborated by the letter which I received from Captain Don Joseph Vidal, who is in Concordia, opposite Natchez,<sup>93</sup> at the same time as the above-mentioned letter. Its recital informs me of the insults to which the territory of His Majesty are daily exposed without this government being able to take any resolution to restrain them. Nor is it easy to think of it, for rules are lacking in immense wildernesses for such consummation. In these circumstances I would not be performing

93 Capt. José Vidal was commandant of Natchez, when that post was surrendered to the Americans (1798). Having removed across the Mississippi, he named the new post Concordia, in token of the amity prevailing between the two garrisons. The present town of Vidalia, in Concordia Parish, Louisiana, commemorates his name.— Ed.

468 my duty if, in spite of appearing troublesome by repeating many times that Your Excellency deign to carefully consider these provinces, which it seems are, at present, enflamed by the desires of many ambitious men; keeping in mind whatever I have set forth for its conservation and progress, as well as the other privileges which I claim devolve on the authority of the Government, and fulfilling the duties of this advice to the Commander-General of the interior provinces, so that, so far as he is concerned, he take the measures which he considers fitting to check the clandestine trade of Phelipe No-land.<sup>94</sup> May God preserve Your Excellency many years.

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94 Philip Nolan was a Kentuckian who for some years had been trading in Spanish territory, chiefly in horses. He seems to have in some way been connected with Wilkinson, and acting for him. In the autumn of 1800 he left Natchez with a party of about twenty Americans, to catch wild horses in Texas. On the Brazos River he was attacked and killed by Spanish soldiery. His companions lingered for many years in Spanish prisons, where Pike met some of them; see Mississippi Historical Society *Publications*, iv. pp. 281–287. Whether this was really a filibustering or a commercial expedition, has never been certainly proved.— Ed.

Nueva Orleans , October 19th, 1800.

*His Excellency Don Mariano Luis de Urquijo .*

FORT MACKINAC IN 1905 Photograph from pasture southwest of the fort, between the village and the Grand Hotel